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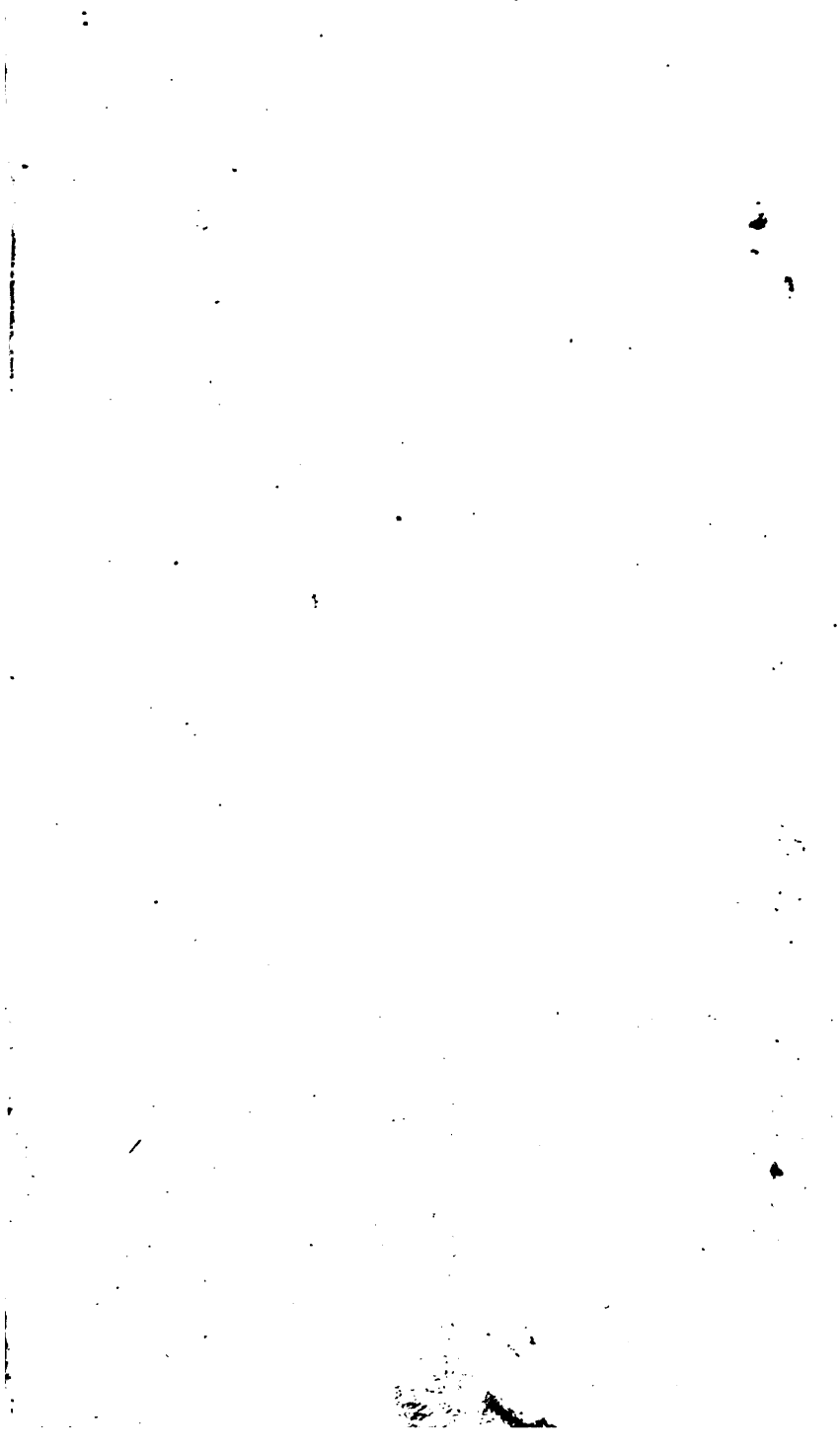
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R. Gravelot, inv.; del. et sculp.

AUGUSTUS & CLEOPATRA.

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THE ANTIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

Charles
By Mr. ^{ROLLIN}, late Principal of the University
of Paris; now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal
College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscryp-
tion and Belles Lettres.

Translated from the FRENCH.

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at the Crown in Ludgate-Street. M DCC XXXVI.



THE ANTIEN T
H I S T O R Y
O F

Alexander's Successors.

C O N T A I N I N G

I. Continuation of the history of SICILY, from HIERO II, to the taking of SYRACUSE by MARCELLUS. Summary of the history of SYRACUSE. Reflections upon its government and ARCHIMEDES.

II. Continuation of the history of ALEXANDER'S Successors. War of MITHRIDATES against the Romans under SYLLA, LUCULLUS, and POMPEY. PTOLOMÆUS AULETES. POMPEY'S death. War of JULIUS CÆSER in EGYPT. First part of CLEOPATRA'S life and reign.

III. History of ANTONY and

CLEOPATRA. Battle of ACTIUM. Death of ANTONY and CLEOPATRA. EGYPT reduced into a province of the Roman empire. Conclusion of the whole ancient history.

IV. Of Arts and Sciences, especially those of the antients. Agriculture. Countries celebrated for corn. Wines of GREECE and ITALY. Farms, vineyards, cattle, &c. Of rural life. Of commerce. Its antiquity, object, and materials. Places most famous for it. Mines of gold, silver, copper, iron, &c. Coin and medals. Pearls. Purple. Silk.

By Mr. ROLLIN, late Principal of the University of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

Translated from the F R E N C H.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JAMES, JOHN and PAUL KNAPTON,
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T H E
A U T H O R ' s A d v e r t i s e m e n t
T O T H E
R E A D E R .

TH E piece of history in the beginning of this tenth volume, which includes the reign of Hiero II, and goes on to the taking of Syracuse by the Romans, had entirely escaped me, it being indeed a detached part, that has no connection with the other histories. I was not aware of this omission till some time after I had made it, and the twenty second book, which treats of arts and sciences, was begun to be printed. This is not the only error my want of memory has occasioned me to commit. I hope to be pardoned for it, as well as the rest of my faults, and the more, because it seems next to entirely indifferent where this fragment of history is placed.

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THE TWENTIETH BOOK.

C O N C L U S I O N

O F T H E

History of SYRACUSE.

THIS twentieth book contains the conclusion of the history of Syracuse. It may be divided into three parts. The first includes the long reign of Hiero II. The second, the short reign of his grandson Hieronymus, and the troubles of Syracuse consequential of it ; with the siege and taking of that city by Marcellus. The third is an exact abridgment of the history of Syracuse, with some reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, and upon Archimedes.

ARTICLE I.

SECT. I.

Hiero the second chosen captain-general by the Syracusans, and soon after appointed king. He makes an alliance with the Romans in the beginning of the first punick war.

A. M.

3700.

Ant. J. C.

304.

Justin.

l. 23. c. 4.

HIERO II. was descended from the family of Gelon, who had formerly reigned in Syracuse. As his mother was of slavish extraction, his father Hierocles, according to the barbarous custom of those times, caused him to be exposed soon after his birth; believing that the infant would dishonour the nobility of his race. If Justin's fabulous account may be believed, the bees nourished him several days with their honey. The oracle declaring, that so singular an event was a certain presage of his future greatness, Hierocles caused him to be brought back to his house, and took all possible care of his education.

The child improved as much as could be expected from the pains taken to form him. He distinguished himself early from all those of his years, by his address in military exercises, and his courage in battle. He acquired the esteem of Pyrrhus, and received several rewards from his own hands. He was of a beautiful aspect, large stature, and robust complexion. In his conversation * he was humane and polite, in business just, and moderate in

* In alloquio blandus, hil ei regium deesse, præter in negotio iustus, in imperio regnum, videretur. *Justin.*
moderatus: prorsus ut ni-

command: so that he seemed to want nothing royal except a throne.

Discord having arose between the citizens A. M. of Syracuse and their troops, the latter, who³⁷²⁹ were in the neighbourhood, raised Artemidorus^{Ant. J. C.} and Hiero to the supreme command, which²⁷⁵ Polyb. 1.1. comprehended all authority civil and military. p. 8, 9.

The latter was at that time thirty years old, but of prudence and maturity, that promised a great king. Honoured with this command, by the help of some friends he entered the city, and having found means to bring over the adverse party, intent upon nothing but raising disorders, he behaved with so much wisdom and greatness of mind, that the Syracusans, though highly dissatisfied with the liberty assumed by the soldiers of making an election without any right, were however unanimous in conferring upon him the title and power of supreme commander.

From his first measures it was easy to judge; that the new magistrate aspired at something more than that office. In effect, observing that the troops no sooner quitted the city, than Syracuse was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits and lovers of novelty, he perceived how important it was, in his own, and the absence of the army, to have somebody, upon whom he might rely, for retaining the citizens in their duty. Leptinus seemed very fit for this purpose. He had abundance of persons devoted to his interests; and was in very great credit with the people. Hiero attached him to himself for ever, by espousing his daughter, and by the same alliance secured the publick tranquillity, during the time he should be obliged to remove from Syracuse, and march at the head of the armies.

Another much bolder, though far less just, stroke of policy, established him in perpetual security and repose. He had every thing to fear from the foreign soldiers, fluctuating malignant men, void of respect for their commanders, and of affection for a state of which they made no part, solely actuated by the desire of lording it, and of amassing money, and always ready for a revolt; who having been bold enough to assume a right in the election of magistrates, which did not belong to them, were capable, upon the least discontent, to attempt any thing against himself. He easily comprehended, that he should never have the mastery over them, from their being too well united amongst themselves; that if he undertook to punish the most criminal, their chastisement would only provoke the rest; and that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occasioned, was utterly to exterminate that factious militia; whose licentiousness and rebellious disposition could only corrupt others, and incline them to the same pernicious excesses. Deceived by a false zeal and blind love for the publick good, and sensibly moved also by the prospect of the dangers to which he was perpetually exposed, he thought it incumbent on him, for the safety of his country, and security of his person, to proceed to a cruel and sad extremity, which was equally contrary to his character and justice; but seemed necessary to him in the present conjuncture. He therefore took the field under the pretext of marching against the * Mamertines. When

* They were originally Campanian troops, whom Agathocles had taken into his pay, and who afterwards seized Messina, having first cut the principal inhabitants throats.

he came within view of the enemy, he divided his army in two parts : on the one side he posted such of the soldiers, as were Syracusans ; on the other, those who were not so. He put himself at the head of the first, as if he intended an attack, and left the others exposed to the Mamertines, who put them all to the sword : after which, he returned quietly to the city with the Syracusan troops.

The army being thus purged of all who might excite disorders and seditions, he raised a sufficient number of new troops, and afterward peaceably discharged the duties of his function. The Mamertines, elate with their first success, advancing into the country, he marched against them with the Syracusan troops, whom he had armed and disciplined well, and gave them battle in the plain of Myla. A A. M. great part of the enemies were left upon the place, and their generals made prisoners. At ^{3736.} _{Ant. J. C.} ^{268.} his return he was declared king by all the citizens of Syracuse, and afterwards by all the allies. This happened seven years after his being raised to the supreme authority.

It would be difficult to justify the manner in which he attained that eminence. Whether he put the foreign soldiers in motion himself, which seems probable enough, or only lent himself to their zeal, it was a criminal infidelity to his country, and the publick authority, to which he gave a mortal stroke by his example. It is true, the irregularity of his entrance upon office was somewhat abated, by the consent which the people and the allies afterwards gave to it. But can we suppose, in such a conjuncture, that their consent was perfectly free ? As to his being elected king, there was nothing forced in that : If his secret ambition

had any part in it, that fault was well atoned for, by his wife and disinterested conduct through the long duration of his reign and life.

The loss of the battle we have spoken of, entirely disconcerted the affairs of the Mamertines. Some of them had recourse to the Carthaginians, to whom they surrendered their citadel; others resolved to abandon the city to the Romans, and sent to desire their aid. Hence arose the first Punick war, as I have explained more at large elsewhere.

*Vol. I.
Hist. of the
Carthagi-
nians.*

Frontin.

Stratag.

l. i. c. 4.

Appius Claudius the consul put to sea, in order to aid the Mamertines. Not being able to pass the strait of Messina, possessed by the Carthaginians, he made a feint of abandoning that enterprize, and of returning towards Rome with all the troops he had on board his fleet. Upon this news the enemy, who blocked up Messina on the side next the sea, having retired, as if there had been nothing farther to apprehend, Appius tacked about, and passed the strait without danger.

Polyb. l. i.

p. 10, 11.

The Mamertines having, between menaces and surprize, driven the officer out of the citadel, who commanded in it for the Carthaginians, they called in Appius, and opened the gates of their city to him. The Carthaginians soon after formed the siege of it, and made a treaty of alliance with Hiero, who joined his troops to theirs. The Roman consul thought fit to venture a battle, and attacked the Syracusans first. The fight was rude. Hiero shewed all possible courage, but could not resist the valour of the Romans, and was obliged to give way, and retire to Syracuse. Claudius, having obtained a like victory over the Carthaginians, saw himself master of the field, advanced

vanced to the walls of Syracuse, and even designed to have besieged it.

The news of Appius's good success, being ^{A. M.} arrived at Rome, was received with universal ^{374¹.} joy. In order to make the most of it, it was ^{Ant. J. C.} thought proper to use new efforts. The two ^{263.} consuls lately elected, Manius Otacilius and ^{Polyb. l. 1,} Manius Valerius, were ordered into Sicily. Upon their arrival, several of the Carthaginian and Syracusan cities surrendered at discretion.

The consternation of Sicily, joined to the number and force of the Roman legions, made Hiero conceive what event this new war was likely to have. That prince was sensible, that he might rely upon a more faithful and constant amity on the part of the Romans. He knew, that the Carthaginians had not renounced the design they had anciently formed, of possessing themselves of all Sicily; and if they made themselves masters of Messina, he rightly judged his power would be very unsecure in the neighbourhood of such dangerous and formidable enemies. He saw no other expedient for the preservation of his kingdom, than to leave the Carthaginians engaged with the Romans; well assured that the war would be long and obstinate between those two powerful republicks, equal in their forces, and that as long as they should be at blows, he should have no reason to apprehend being distressed either by the one or the other. He therefore sent ambassadors to the consuls to treat of peace and alliance. They were far from refusing those offers. They were too much afraid, that the Carthaginians, masters of the sea, might shut up all passage for provisions; which fear was the better founded, as the troops, who had first passed the strait, had suffered extremely by fa-

mine. An alliance with Hiero secured the legions in that respect, and was immediately concluded. The conditions were, that the king should restore to the Romans, without ransom, all the prisoners he had taken from them, and pay them an hundred talents in money.

An hundred thousand crowns.

From thenceforth Hiero saw no war in his dominions, nor had any other share in it, than of sending supplies to the Romans upon occasion. In other regards he reigned as a king who had no view nor ambition but the esteem and love of his people. No prince was ever more successful in that point, nor longer enjoyed the fruits of his wisdom and prudence. During more than fifty years that he lived after being elected king, whilst all things were in flames around him, occasioned by the cruel wars, which the two most potent people of the world made upon each other, he was so prudent and happy to be no more than a spectator of them, and only to hear the noise of those arms, which shook all the neighbouring regions; himself and his people retaining a profound peace.

Polyb.
p. 18.

The Romans perceived on more than one occasion, during the first punick war, and especially at the siege of Agrigentum, with which it was in a manner opened, the importance of the alliance made with Hiero, who abundantly supplied them with provisions at times, when the Roman army, without his aid, had been exposed to excessive famine.

The interval between the end of the first punick war, and the commencement of the second, which was about five and twenty years, was to Hiero a time of peace and tranquillity,
in

in which the actions of that prince are little spoken off.

Polybius only informs us, that the Cartha- A. M.
ginians, in the unhappy war they were obliged ^{3763.}
to support against the strangers or mercenaries, ^{Ant. J. C.}
which was called the African war, finding ^{241.}
themselves extremely pressed, had recourse to ^{Polyb. l. i.}
their allies, and especially to king Hiero, who ^{P. 84.}
granted them all they asked of him. That
prince conceived, that to support himself in
Sicily, it was necessary that the Carthaginians
should overcome in this war; lest the strangers,
who had already gained many advantages
over the Carthaginians, in case of entire suc-
cess, should find no farther obstacles to their
projects, and should form designs of bringing
their victorious arms into Sicily. Perhaps
also, as he was an excellent politician, he thought
it incumbent on him to be upon his guard a-
gainst the too-great power of the Romans,
who would become absolute masters, if the
Carthaginians should be entirely crushed in the
war against the revolters.

Hiero's sole application during this long in-
terval of peace, was to make his subjects hap-
py, and to redress the evils, which the unjust
government of Agathocles, who preceded him
some years, and the intestine divisions conse-
quential of them, had occasioned: an em-
ployment worthy of a great king. There was
a levity and inconstancy in the character of the
Syracusans, which often inclined them to ex-
cessive and violent resolutions; but at bottom
they were humane and equitable, and no ene-
mies to a just and reasonable subjection. The
proof of which is, that when they were go-
verned with wisdom and moderation, as by Ti-
moleon, they respected the authority of the
laws

laws and magistrates, and obeyed them with joy.

Hiero was no sooner entered upon office, and had the supreme authority confided to him; than he shewed his detestation for the wretched policy of the tyrants; who, considering the citizens as their enemies, had no other thoughts than to weaken and intimidate them, and reposed their whole confidence in the foreign soldiers, by whom they were perpetually surrounded. He began by putting arms into the hands of the citizens, formed them with care in the exercises of war, and employed them preferably to all others.

S E C T. II.

Hiero's pacifick reign. He particularly favours agriculture. He employs the abilities of Archimedes his relation to the service of the publick, and causes him to make an infinity of machines for the defence of a besieged place. He dies very old, and much regretted by the people.

WHEN Hiero attained the sovereign authority, his great application was to convince his subjects, less by his words than his actions, that he was infinitely remote from intending any thing to the prejudice of their fortunes or liberty. He was not intent upon being feared, but upon being loved. He looked upon himself less as their master, than as their protector and father. Before his reign, the state had been divided by two factions, that of the citizens, and that of the soldiers; whose differences, supported on both sides with great animosity, had occasioned infinite misfortunes. He used his utmost endeavours to extinguish all

all remains of this division, and to eradicate from their minds the least seed of discord and misunderstanding. He seems to have succeeded wonderfully in that respect, as during a reign of more than fifty years, no sedition or revolt was seen to rise up in Syracuse, or disturbed its tranquillity.

What contributed most, without doubt, to this happy calm, was the particular care taken by Hiero, to keep his subjects employed; to banish idleness and luxury, the parent of all vices, and source of all seditions, from his dominions; to support and improve the natural fertility of his country; and to bring agriculture into honour, which he looked upon as the certain means to render his people happy, and to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom. The cultivation of lands indeed, besides employing and setting an infinity of hands in motion, which would otherwise remain idle and unprofitable, draws into a country, by the exportation of grain, the riches of the neighbouring nations, and makes them flow into the houses of the people, by a commerce renewing every year, the deserved fruits of their labour and industry. This is, and we cannot repeat it too often, what ought to be the peculiar attention of a wise government, as one of the most essential parts of good and sound policy, though unhappily too much neglected.

Hiero applied himself entirely to this end. He did not think it unworthy of the sovereignty to study and be skilful in all the rules of agriculture. He even gave himself the trouble to Polyb. compose books upon that subject, of which we l. 18. c. 3. ought much to regret the loss. But he considered that object of his enquiries in a manner still more worthy of a king. The principal

cipal riches of his country, and the most certain fund of the prince's revenue, consisted in corn. He therefore believed it of the highest consequence, and what demanded his utmost care and application, to establish good order in that traffick, to render the condition of the husbandman, of whom the greatest part of the state were composed, safe and happy ; to ascertain the prince's rights, whose principal revenue was drawn from them ; to obviate such disorders as might get ground, to the prejudice of his institutions ; and to prevent the unjust vexations, which endeavours might possibly be used to obtrude in the sequel. To answer all these purposes, Hiero made regulations so wise, reasonable, equitable, and at the same time conformable to the people's and prince's interests, that they became, in a manner, the fundamental laws of the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the Romans had reduced the city and dominions of Syracuse under their obedience, they imposed no new tributes, and decreed * that all things should be disposed according to *the laws of Hiero* ; in order that the Syracusans, in changing their masters, might have the consolation not to change their laws ; and see themselves in some measure still governed by a prince, whose name alone was always dear to them, and rendered those laws the objects of their exceeding veneration.

* Decumas lege Hieronica semper vendendas censuerunt, ut iis jucundior esset muneris illius functio, si ejus regis, qui Siculis carissimus

fuit, non solum instituta, commutato imperio, verum etiam nomen remaneret.. Cic. Orat. in Ver. de frum. n. 15.

I have

I have observed, that in Sicily, one of the prince's principal revenues consisted in corn; the tenth part was paid to him. It was therefore his interest that the country should be well cultivated, that estimates should be made of the value of the lands, and that they should produce abundantly, as his revenue augmented in proportion to their fertility. The collectors of this tenth for the prince, which was paid in kind and not in money, were called *Decumani*, as much as to say, *farmers of the tenths*. Hiero, in the regulations he made upon this head, did not neglect his own interests, which argues him a wise prince, and good œconomist. He knew very well, there was reason to apprehend, that the country-people, who frequently consider the most legal and moderate imposts as intolerable burdens, might be tempted to defraud the prince of his dues. To spare them this temptation, he took such * just and exact precautions, that whither the corn were in the ear, on the floor to be threshed, laid up in barns, or laden for carriage, it was not possible for the husbandman to secrete any part of it, or to defraud the collector of a single grain, without exposing himself to a severe punishment. But he adds also, that Hiero had taken the same precautions against the avidity of the collectors, to whom it was equally impossible to extort any thing from the husbandmen beyond the tenth. Hiero seems to have been very much against the husbandman's quitting his home upon any pretext

* Hieronica lex omnibus custodiis subjectum aratorem decumano tradit, ut neque in segetibus, neque in arvis, neque in horreis, neque in

amovendo, neque in asportando frumento, grano uno posset arato, sine maxima pœna fraudare decumanum Cíc.

in *Ver. de frum.* n. 20.

whatsoever.

Cic. ibid.
n. 14.

whatsoever. Cicero says accordingly, inveighing against Verres, who gave them great trouble, by frequent and painful journeys; it is very hard and afflicting to the poor husbandmen, to be brought from their country to the city, from their plow to the bar; and the care of tilling their lands to that of prosecuting law-suits. *Miserum atque iniquum ex agro homines traduci in forum, ab aratro ad subsellia, ab usu rerum rusticarum ad insolitam litem atque iudicium.* And besides, can they flatter themselves, be their cause ever so just, that they shall carry it to the prejudice of the collectors? *Judicio ut arator decumanum persequatur!*

Can there be any thing more to a king's praise, than what we have now said? Hiero might undertake wars, for he did not want valour, gain battles, make conquests, and extend the bounds of his dominions, and upon these accounts might pass for a hero, in the sense of the generality of men. But with how many taxes must he have charged his people! How many husbandmen must he have torn from their lands! How much blood would the gaining those victories have cost him! And of what emolument would they have been to the state! Hiero, who knew wherein true glory consists, placed his in governing his people with wisdom, and in making them happy. Instead of conquering new countries by the force of arms, he endeavoured to multiply his own in some sort, by the cultivation of lands, by rendering them more fertile than they were, and in actually multiplying his people, wherein the true force and riches of a state consists; and which can never fail to happen, when the people of a country
reap

reap a reasonable advantage from their labour.

It was in the second punick war, that A. M. Hiero gave shining proofs of his attachment to the Romans. As soon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he went with his fleet well equipped to meet Tiberius Sempronius, who was arrived at Messina, to offer that consul his services, and to assure him, that advanced in age as he was, he would shew the same zeal for the Roman people, as he had formerly done in his youth, in the first war against the Carthaginians. He took upon him to supply the consuls legions, and the troops of the allies, with corn and cloaths at his own expence. Upon the news received the same instant, of the advantage gained by the Roman, over the Carthaginian, fleet, the consul thanked the king for his advantageous offers, and made no use of them at that time.

Hiero's inviolable fidelity for the Romans, which is very remarkable in his character, appears still more conspicuously after their defeat near the lake of Thrasymene. They had already lost three battles against Hannibal, each more unfortunate and more bloody than the other. Hiero, in that mournful conjuncture, sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of Ostia. The Syracusan ambassadors, upon their being introduced to the senate, told them :
 “ That Hiero, their master, had been as
 “ sensibly afflicted on their last disgrace, as if
 “ he had suffered it in his own person. That
 “ though he well knew, that the grandeur
 “ of the Roman people was almost more ad-
 “ mirable in times of adversity, than after the
 “ most signal successes ; he had sent them all
 “ the aid, that could be expected from a good
 “ and

“ and faithful ally, and earnestly desired the
 “ senate would not refuse to accept it. That
 “ they had particularly brought a victory of
 “ gold, that weighed three hundred pounds,
 “ which the king hoped they would vouchsafe
 “ to receive as a favourable augury, and a
 “ pledge of his vows for their prosperity.
 “ That they had also three hundred thousand
 “ bushels of wheat, and two hundred thousand
 “ of barley ; and that if the Roman people
 “ desired a greater quantity, Hiero would
 “ cause as much as they pleased to be tran-
 “ sported to whatever places they should ap-
 “ point. That he knew the Roman people
 “ employed none in their armies but citizens
 “ and allies ; but that he had seen light-armed
 “ strangers in their camp. That he had
 “ therefore sent them a thousand archers and
 “ slingers, who might be opposed successfully
 “ to the Balears and Moors of Hannibal’s
 “ army.” They added to this aid a very
 salutary piece of counsel ; which was, that the
 prætor, who should be sent to command in
 Sicily, might dispatch a fleet to Africa, in order
 to find the Carthaginians such employment in
 their own country, as might put it out of
 their power, by that diversion, to send any
 succours to Hannibal.

The senate answered the king’s ambassadors
 in very obliging and honourable terms : “ That
 “ Hiero acted like a very generous prince,
 “ and a most faithful ally : that from the
 “ time he had contracted an alliance with the
 “ Romans, his attachment for them had been
 “ sustained without any interruption : in fine,
 “ that in all times and places he had power-
 “ fully and magnificently supported them :
 “ that the people had a due sense of such
 “ generosity :

“generosity: that some cities of Italy had
 “already presented the Roman people with
 “gold, who, after having expressed their
 “gratitude, had not thought fit to accept it:
 “that the victory was too favourable an au-
 “gury not to be received: that they would
 “place her in the capitol, that is to say, in the
 “temple of the most high Jupiter, in order
 “that she may establish there her fixed and
 “lasting abode.” All the corn and barley
 on board the ships, with the archers and sling-
 ers, were sent to the consuls.

Valerius Maximus * observes here, upon the
 noble and prudent liberality of Hiero; first
 in the generous design he forms, of present-
 ing the Romans three hundred and twenty
 pounds weight of gold; then in the industrious
 precaution he uses, to prevent their refusal to
 accept it. He does not offer them that gold
 in specie; he knew the exceeding delicacy of
 the Roman people too well for that; but under
 the form of a victory, which they dared not
 refuse, upon account of the good omen it seem-
 ed to bring along with it.

It is extraordinary to see a prince, whose
 dominions were situate as Syracuse was in re-
 gard to Carthage, from which it had every
 thing to fear, at a time when Rome seemed
 near her ruin, continue unalterably faithful, and
 declare loudly for her interests, notwithstanding

* Trecenta millia modium
 tritici, & ducenta millia hor-
 dei, aurique ducenta & qua-
 draginta pondo urbi nostræ
 muneri misit. Neque ignarus
 verecundie majorum no-
 strorum, quod nollet acci-
 pere, in habitum id victo-

riæ formavit, ut eos religi-
 one motos, munificentia sua
 uti cogeret: voluntate mit-
 tendi prius, iterum provi-
 dentia cavendi ne remitte-
 retur, liberalis. *Val. Max.* l. 4.
 c. 8.

all the dangers to which so daring a conduct exposed him. A more prudent politician, to speak the usual language, would perhaps have waited the event of a new action, and not have been so hasty to declare himself without necessity, and at his extreme peril. Such examples are the more estimable, for being rare and almost unparallelled.

I do not know, however, whether even in good policy, Hiero ought not to have acted as he did. It would have been the greatest of all misfortunes for Syracuse, had the Carthaginians entirely ruined, or even weakened the Romans too much. That city would have immediately felt all the weight of Carthage; as it was situated over against it, and lay highly convenient for strengthening its commerce, securing it the empire of the sea, and establishing it finally in Sicily, by the possession of the whole island. It had therefore been imprudent to suffer such allies to be entirely crushed by the Carthaginians; who would have been never the better friends to the Syracusans, for their having renounced the Romans by force. It was therefore a decisive point, to fly immediately to the aid of the Romans; and as Syracuse would necessarily fall after Rome, it was absolutely requisite to hazard every thing; and either to save Rome, or fall with her.

If the facts, which history has preserved us of so long and happy a reign, are few, they give us no less an idea of this prince, and ought to make us exceedingly regret the want of a more particular information concerning his actions.

Polyb 1.5. The sum of an hundred talents (an hundred
P. 429. thousand crowns) which he sent to the Rhodians, and the presents he made them after the
great

great earthquake, that laid waste their island, and threw down their Colossus, are illustrious instances of his liberality and magnificence. The modesty, with which his presents were attended, infinitely exalts the value of them. He caused two statues to be erected in the publick place at Rhodes, representing the people of Syracuse placing a crown upon the head of the Rhodians ; as if, says Polybius, Hiero, after having made that people magnificent presents, far from assuming any vanity from his munificence, believed himself their debtor upon that very account. And indeed a king, who is liberal to strangers, is rewarded with interest for his beneficence, by the pleasure it gives himself, and the glory he attains by it.

There is a pastoral of Theocritus (*Idyll.* 16.) named after the king we speak of, wherein the poet seems to reproach that prince tacitly, with paying very ill for the verses made in honour of him. But the mean manner in which he claims, as it were, a reward for the verses he meditates, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice upon the poet than the prince, distinguished and estimable, as we have seen, from his liberality.

It is to Hiero's just taste, and singular attention to every thing that affected the publick good, that Syracuse was indebted for those amazing machines of war, of which we shall soon see it make so great an use, when besieged by the Romans. Though that prince seemed entirely employed in the care of the tranquillity and domestick affairs of the kingdom, he did not neglect those of war ; convinced, that the surest means to preserve the

Plut. in
Marcel. p.
305, 306.

peace of his dominions, was to hold himself always in readiness to make war upon unjust neighbours, who should attempt to disturb it. He knew how to use the advantage, of having in his dominions the most learned geometrician the world produced: it is plain I mean Archimedes. He was illustrious, not only by his great ability in geometry, but his birth, as he was Hiero's relation. Sensible alone to the pleasures of the mind, and highly averse to the hurry and tumult of business and government, he devoted himself solely to the study of a science, whose sublime speculations of truths, purely intellectual and spiritual, and entirely distinct from matter, have such attraction with the learned of the first rank, as scarce leaves them at liberty to apply themselves to any other object.

Hiero had, however, sufficient power with Archimedes, to engage him to descend from those lofty speculations to the practice of the mechanism, which depends on the hand, but is directed by the head. He pressed him continually, not to employ his art always in soaring after immaterial and intellectual objects, but to bring it down to sensible and corporeal things, and to render his reasonings in some measure more evident and familiar to the generality of mankind, by joining them experimentally with things of use.

Archimedes held frequent discourses with the king, who always heard him with great attention and extreme pleasure. One day, when he was explaining to him the wonderful effects of the motive powers, he applied himself to demonstrate, *That with a certain given power he could move any weight whatsoever.* And applauding himself afterwards on the force of his demon-

demonstration, he ventured to boast, that if there were another world besides this we inhabit, by going to that he could remove this at his pleasure. The king, surprized and delighted, desired him to put his position in execution, by removing some great weight with a small force.

Archimedes prepared to satisfy the just and rational curiosity of his kinsman and friend. He chose one of the galleys in the port, caused it to be drawn on shore with great labour, and by abundance of men. He then ordered its usual lading to be put on board, and besides that, as many men as it could hold. Then placing himself at some distance, and sitting at his ease, without trouble, or exerting his strength in the least, by only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which he had provided with cords and pullies, he drew the galley to him upon the land, with as much ease, and as upright as if it had swam upon the water.

The king, upon the sight of so prodigious an effect of the powers of motion, was entirely astonished; and judging from that experiment the efficacy of the art, he earnestly solicited Archimedes to make several sorts of machines and battering engines for sieges and attacks, as well for the defence as assault of places.

It has been sometimes asked, whether the sublime knowledge, of which we speak, be necessary to a king; and if the study of arts and sciences ought to be a part of the education of a young prince. What we read here demonstrates their utility. If king Hiero had wanted taste and curiosity, and employed himself solely in his pleasures, Archimedes had remained quiet in his closet, and all his extra-

ordinary science been of no advantage to his country. What treasures of useful knowledge lie buried in obscurity, and in a manner hid under the earth, because princes make no account of learned men, and consider them as persons useless to the state. But when, in their youth, they have imbibed some small tincture from arts and sciences, for the study of princes ought to extend no farther in that point, they set a value upon such as distinguish themselves by learning; they sometimes converse with them, and by so glorious a protection, make way for valuable discoveries, of which the state soon reaps the benefit. Syracuse had this obligation to Hiero; which, without doubt, was the effect of his excellent education; for he had been bred with uncommon care and attention.

What has been said hitherto of Archimedes, and what we shall presently add upon those admirable machines of war, made use of during the siege of Syracuse, shews how wrong it is to despise those sublime and speculative sciences, whose only objects are simple and abstracted ideas. It is true, that all the speculations of pure geometry or algebra, do not directly relate to useful things. But it is also as true, that most of those, which have not that relation, conduct or refer to those that have. They may appear unprofitable, as long as they do not derive from this real intellectual world; but the mixed mathematicks, which descend to matter, and consider the motions of the stars, the perfect knowledge of navigation, the art of drawing remote objects near by the assistance of telescopes, the encrease of the powers of motion, the nice exactitude of the balance, and other the like objects, become
more

more easy of access, and in a manner familiarize themselves with the vulgar. The application of Archimedes was long obscure, and perhaps contemned, because he confined himself to simple and barren speculations. Ought we therefore to conclude, that it was useless and unprofitable? It was from that very source of knowledge, buried till then in obscurity, from which shot forth those living lights, and wonderful discoveries, which shone from their birth with a sensible and manifest utility, and gave the Romans astonishment and despair when they besieged Syracuse.

Hiero was great and magnificent in all things; in the building of palaces, arsenals, and temples. He caused an infinite number of ships of all burdens to be built for the exportation of corn; a commerce, in which almost the whole wealth of the island consisted. We are told of a galley built by his order, *Athen. l. 5.* under the direction of Archimedes, which was *p. 206* — reckoned one of the most famous structures of *290.* antiquity. It was an whole year in building. Hiero passed whole days amongst the workmen, to animate them by his presence.

This ship had twenty benches of oars. The enormous pile was fastened together on all sides with huge nails of copper, that weighed each ten pounds and upwards.

The inside had in it three galleries or corridors, the lowest of which led to the hold by a descent of stairs; the second to apartments, and the first to soldiers lodgings.

On the right and left side of the middle gallery, there were to the number of thirty apartments; in each of which were four beds for men. The apartment for the officers and seamen had fifteen beds, and three great

rooms for eating; the last of which, that was at the poop, served for a kitchen. All the floors of these apartments were laid with small stones in different colours, taken from the Iliad of Homer. The ceilings, windows, and all the other parts were finished with wonderful art, and embellished with all kinds of ornaments.

In the uppermost gallery, there was a Gymnasium, or place of exercise, and walks proportionate to the magnitude of the ship. In them were gardens and plants of all kinds, disposed in wonderful order. Pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all around to refresh them. There were also arbours of ivy and vines, that had their roots in great vessels filled with earth. These vessels were watered in the same manner with the gardens. The arbours served to shade the walks.

After these came the apartment of Venus with three beds. This was floored with agates and other precious stones, the finest that could be found in the island. The walls and roof were of Cyprus wood. The windows were adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In another apartment there was a library, at the top of which, on the outside, was fixed a sun-dial.

There was also an apartment with three beds for a bath, in which were three great coppers, and a bathing vessel, made of a single stone of various colours. This vessel contained two hundred and fifty quarts. At the ship's head was a great reservoir of water, which held an hundred thousand quarts.

All round the ship on the outside were Attaches of six cubits, or nine feet, in height, which

which supported the sides of the ship ; these Atlases were at equal distance from each other. The ship was adorned on all sides with paintings, and had eight towers proportioned to its bigness ; two at the head, two at the stern, and four in the middle, of equal dimensions. Upon these towers were parapets, from which stones might be discharged upon the ships of an enemy, that should approach too near. Each tower was guarded by four young men compleatly armed, and two archers. The inside of them was filled with stones and arrows.

Upon the side of the vessel, well strengthened with planks, was a kind of rampart, on which was an engine to discharge stones, made by Archimedes : it threw a stone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of twelve cubits, (eighteen feet) the distance of a stadium, or an hundred and twenty five paces from it.

The ship had three masts, at each of which were two machines to discharge stones. There also were the hooks and great lumps of lead to throw upon such as approached. The whole ship was surrounded with a rampart of iron to keep off those, who should attempt to board it. All around were iron grapplings disposed, which being thrown by the machines, might catch hold on the enemies vessel, and draw them close to the ship, from whence it was easy to destroy them. On each of the sides were sixty young men compleatly armed ; there was as many about the masts, and at the engines for throwing stones.

Though the hold of this ship was exceeding deep, a single man could clear it of all water, with a machine, made in the nature of a screw, invented by Archimedes. An Athenian

nian poet of that name made an epigram upon this superb vessel, for which he was well paid. Hiero sent him a thousand *medimni* of corn as a reward, and caused them to be carried to the port Pyræum. The Medimnus, according to father Montfaucon, is a measure, that contains six bushels. This epigram is come down to us. The value of verse was understood at that time in Syracuse.

Hiero having found that there was no port in Sicily capable of containing this vessel, except some, where it could not be without danger, resolved to make a present of it to king * Ptolemy, and sent it to Alexandria. There was at that time a great dearth of corn throughout all Egypt.

Several other vessels of less burden attended this great ship. Three hundred thousand quarters of corn were put on board them, with ten thousand great earthen jars of salted fish, twenty thousand quintals (or two millions of pounds) of salt meat, twenty thousand bundles of different cloaths, without including the provisions for the ships crews and officers.

To avoid too much prolixity, I have retrenched some part of the description Athenæus has left us of this great ship. I should have been glad, that, to have given us a better idea of it, he had mentioned the exact dimensions of it. Had he added a word upon the benches of oars, it would have cleared up and decided a question, which without it must for ever remain doubtful and obscure.

Hiero's faith was put to a very severe trial, after the bloody defeat of the Romans in the

* *There is reason to believe this was Ptolomæus Philadelphus.*

battle of Cannæ, which was followed by an almost universal defection of their allies. But the wasting his dominions by the Carthaginian troops, which their fleet had landed in Sicily, was not capable of shaking him. He was only afflicted to see that the contagion had spread even to his own family. He had a son named Gelon, who married Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus, by whom he had several children, and amongst others Hieronymus, of whom we shall soon speak. Gelon, despising his father's great age, and setting no value on the alliance of the Romans, after their last disgrace at Cannæ, had declared openly for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and solicited the allies of Syracuse to join him; and would * perhaps have occasioned great troubles in Sicily, if a sudden and unexpected death had not broken his measures. It happened so opportunely, that it gave some suspicion that his father had promoted it. He did not survive his son long; and died at the age of fourscore and ten years, infinitely regretted by his people, after having reigned fifty-four years.

Liv. l. 23.

n. 30.

A. M.

3789.

Ant. J. C.

215.

* Movissetque in Sicilia res, nisi mors, adeo opportuna ut patrem quoque suspicione adspiceret, arman-

tem eum multitudinem, sollicitantemque socios, absumpisset. Liv.

ARTICLE II.

SECT. I.

Hieronimus, grandson of Hiero, succeeds him, and causes him to be regretted by his vices and cruelty. He is killed in a conspiracy. Barbarous murder of the Princesses. Hippocrates and Epicydes possess themselves of the government of Syracuse, and declare for the Carthaginians, as Hieronimus had done.

THE death of Hiero occasioned great revolutions in Sicily. The kingdom was fallen into the hands of Hieronimus his grandson; a young * prince, incapable of making a wise use of his independency, and far from resisting the seducing impressions of sovereign power. Hiero's apprehensions, that the flourishing condition, in which he left his kingdom, would soon change under an infant king, suggested to him the thought and desire of restoring their liberty to the Syracusans. But his two daughters opposed that design with their whole credit; from the hope, that the young prince would have only the title of king, and that they should have all the authority, in conjunction with their husbands, Andranorus and Zoippus, who held the first rank amongst his guardians. † It was not easy for an old man of ninety, to hold out against the caresses and arts of those two women, who be-

* Puerum, vix dum libertatem, nedum dominationem, medicè latum. *Liv.*

† Non facile erat nonagesimum jam agenti annum,

circumfesso dies noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum, & convertere ad publicam privata curam. *Liv.*

sieged him day and night, to preserve the freedom of his mind in the midst of their pressing and assiduous insinuations, and to sacrifice with courage the interests of his family to those of the publick.

To prevent as far as possible the evils he foresaw, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council; and earnestly desired them at his death never to depart from the alliance with the Romans, to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years, and to teach the young prince to tread in his steps, and to follow the principles in which he had been educated till then.

The king, dying after these dispositions, the guardians he had appointed his grandson immediately summoned the assembly, presented the young prince to the people, and caused the will to be read. A small number of people, expressly placed to applaud it, clapped their hands, and raised acclamations of joy. All the rest, in a consternation, equal to that of a family who have lately lost a good father, kept a mournful silence, which sufficiently expressed their grief for their loss, and their apprehension of what was to come. His * funeral was afterwards solemnized, and more honoured by the sorrow and tears of his subjects, than the cares and regard of his relations for his memory.

Andranodorus's first care was to remove all the other guardians, by telling them roundly, the prince was of age to govern for himself.

He was at that time near fifteen years old. So that Andranodorus, being the first to renounce

* *Funus fit regium, magis amore civium & caritate, quam eura suorum celebre. Liv.*

the guardianship held by him in common with many colleagues, united in his own person all their power. The dispositions, made by the wisest princes at their deaths, are often little regarded, and seldom executed afterwards.

The † best and most moderate prince in the world, succeeding a king so well beloved by his subjects, as Hiero had been, would have found it very difficult to console them for the loss they had sustained. But Hieronymus, as if he had strove by his vices to make him still more regretted, no sooner ascended the throne, than he made the people sensible, how much all things were altered. Neither king Hiero, nor Gelon his son, during so many years, had ever distinguished themselves from the other citizens by their habits, or any other ornament intimating pride. Hieronymus was presently seen in a purple robe, with a diadem on his head, and surrounded by a troop of armed guards. Sometimes he affected to imitate Dionysius the tyrant, in coming out of his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses. All the * rest of his conduct was suitable to this equipage : a visible contempt for all the world ; haughty and disdainful in hearing ; an affectation of saying disobliging things ; so difficult of access, that not only strangers, but even his

† Vix quidem ulli bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos, succedenti tantæ caritati Hieronis. Verum enimvero Hieronymus, velut suis vitiis desiderabilem efficere vellat avum, primo statim conspectu, omnia quam disparia effert ostendit. *Liv.*

* Hunc tam superbum apparatus habitumque convenientes sequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, superbæ aures, contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus, non alienis modò sed tutoribus etiam ; libidines novæ, inhumana crudelitas. *Liv.*

guardians,

guardians, could scarce approach him ; a refinement of taste in the discovery of new methods of debauch ; a cruelty so excessive, as to extinguish all sense of humanity in him : This odious disposition of the young king cast such a terror into the minds of people, that even some of his guardians, to escape his cruelty, either put themselves to death, or condemned themselves to voluntary banishment.

Only three men, Andranodorus and Zoipus, both Hiero's sons-in-law, and Thraſo, had a freer admittance to the young king. He listened a little more to them than to others ; but as the two first openly declared for the Carthaginians, and the latter for the Romans, that difference of sentiments, and very warm disputes frequently the consequence of it, drew upon them the prince's attention.

About this time a conspiracy against the life of Hieronymus happened to be discovered. One of the principal conspirators, named Theodotus, was accused. Being put to the question, he confessed the crime as to himself ; but all the violence of the most cruel torments could not make him betray his accomplices. At length, as if no longer able to support the pains inflicted on him, he accused the king's best friends, though innocent, amongst whom he named Thraſo, as the ringleader of the whole enterprise ; adding, that they should never have engaged in it, if a man of his credit had not been at their head. The warmth, he had always expressed for the cause of the Romans, rendered the evidence probable ; and he was accordingly put to death. Not one of the accomplices, during their companions being tortured, either fled or concealed himself ; so much they relied upon the fidelity of Theodotus, who
had

had the fortitude to keep the secret inviolable.

The death of Thrafo, who was the sole support of the alliance with the Romans, left the field open to the partisans of Carthage. Hieronymus dispatched ambassadors to Hannibal, who sent back a young Carthaginian officer of illustrious birth, named also Hannibal, with Hippocrates and Epicydes, natives of Carthage, but descended from the Syracusans by their father. After the treaty with Hieronymus was concluded, the young officer returned to his general : the two others continued near the king, with Hannibal's permission. The conditions of the treaty were, That after having driven the Romans out of Sicily, of which they fully assured themselves, the river Himera, which almost divides the island, should be the boundary of their respective dominions. Hieronymus, blown up by the breath of his flatterers, demanded even some time after, that all Sicily should be given up to him, leaving the Carthaginians Italy for their part. The proposal appeared idle and rash ; but Hannibal gave very little attention to it, having no other view at that time, than of drawing off the young king from the party of the Romans.

Upon the first rumour of this treaty, Appius, prætor of Sicily, sent ambassadors to Hieronymus, to renew the alliance made by his grandfather with the Romans. That proud prince received them with great contempt ; demanding of them, with an air of raillery and insult, what had passed at the battle of Cannæ : that Hannibal's ambassadors had related incredible things of it : that it was easy to know the truth from their mouths, and thence to determine upon the choice of his allies. The Romans

mans made answer, that they would return to him, when he had learnt to treat ambassadors seriously and with reason; and, after having given him caution, rather than desired him, not to change sides too rashly, they withdrew.

At length his cruelty, and other vices, to which he blindly abandoned himself, drew upon him an unfortunate end. Those, who had formed the conspiracy mentioned before, pursued their scheme; and having found a favourable opportunity for the execution of their enterprize, killed him in the city of the Leontines, on a journey he made from Syracuse into the country.

Here is a sensible instance of the difference between a king and a tyrant; and that it is not in guards or arms the security of a prince consists, but the affection of his subjects. Hiero, from being convinced, that those who have the laws in their hands for the government of the people, ought always to govern themselves by the laws, behaved in such a manner, that it might be said, the law and not Hiero reigned. He believed himself rich and powerful for no other end, than to do good, and to render others happy. He had no occasion to take precautions for the security of his life: he had always the surest guard about him, the love of his people; and Syracuse was afraid of nothing so much as of losing him. Hence he was lamented at his death as the common father of his country. Not only their mouths but hearts were long after filled with his name, and incessantly blessed his memory. Hieronymus, on the contrary, who had no other rule of conduct but violence, regarded all other men as born solely for himself, and piqued himself upon governing them not as subjects but slaves, led

the wretchedest life in the world, if to live were to pass his days in continual apprehension and terror. As he trusted no body, no body placed any confidence in him. Those, who were nearest his person, were the most exposed to his suspicions and cruelty, and thought they had no other security for their own lives, than by putting an end to his. Thus ended a reign of short duration, but abounding with disorders, injustice, and oppression.

A. M.

3790.

Ant. J. C.

214.

Liv. l. 24.

n. 21--35.

Appius, who foresaw the consequences of his death, gave the senate advice of all that had passed, and took the necessary precautions to preserve that part of Sicily, which belonged to the Romans. They, on their side, perceiving the war in Sicily was likely to become important, sent thither Marcellus, who had been appointed consul with Fabius, in the beginning of the fifth year of the second punick war, and had gloriously distinguished himself by his successes against Hannibal.

When Hieronymus was killed, the soldiers, less out of affection for him, than a certain natural respect for their kings, had thoughts at first of avenging his death upon the conspirators. But the grateful name of the liberty, with which they were flattered, and the hope that was given them of the division of the tyrant's treasures amongst them, and of additional pay, with the recital of his horrid crimes and shameful excesses, all together appeased their first heat, and changed their disposition in such a manner, that they left the prince's body without interment, for whom they had just before expressed so warm a regret.

As soon as the death of Hieronymus was known at Syracuse, Andranadorus seized the isle, which was part of the city, with the citadel,

tadel, and such other places, as were most proper for his defence in it; putting good garrisons into them. Theodorus and Sosis, heads of the conspiracy, having left their accomplices with the army, to keep the soldiers quiet, arrived soon after at the city. They made themselves masters of the quarter Achradina, where, by shewing the tyrant's bloody robe, with his diadem to the people, and exhorting them to take arms for the defence of their liberty, they soon saw themselves at the head of a numerous body.

The whole city was in confusion. The next day, at sun-rise, all the people, armed and unarmed, ran to the Achradina, where the senate was assembled, which had neither fate, nor been consulted upon any affair, from Hiero's death. Polyænus, one of the senators, spoke to the people with great freedom and moderation. He represented, "that having experienced the indignities and miseries of slavery, they were most sensibly affected with them: But that as to the evils occasioned by civil discord, they had rather heard them spoken of by their fathers, than been acquainted with them themselves: That he commended their readiness in taking arms, and should praise them still more, if they only used them in the last extremity: That at present it was his advice to send deputies to Andranorus, and to let him know he must submit to the senate, open the gates of the isle, and withdraw his garrisons: That if he persisted in his usurpation, it would be necessary to treat him with more rigour than Hieronymus had experienced."

This deputation at first made some impressi-
 on upon him ; whether he still retained some re-
 spect for the senate, and was moved with the
 unanimous concurrence of the citizens ; or be-
 cause the best fortified part of the isle having
 been taken from him by treachery, and sur-
 rendered to the Syracusans, that loss gave him
 just apprehensions. But * his wife Demarata,
 Hiero's daughter, an haughty ambitious prin-
 cess, having taking him aside, put him in
 mind of the famous saying of Dionysius the
 tyrant, "*That it was never proper to quit the*
saddle, (i. e. the tyranny) till pulled off the
horse by the heels : That a great fortune might
 be renounced in a moment ; but that it
 would cost abundance of time to attain it :
 That it was therefore necessary to endeavour
 to gain time ; and whilst he amused the se-
 nate by ambiguous answers, to treat privately
 with the soldiers at Leontium, whom it was
 easy to bring over to his interest, by the at-
 traction of the king's treasures in his pos-
 session."

Andranadorus did not entirely reject this
 counsel, nor think proper to give into it with-
 out reserve. He chose a mean between both.
 He promised to submit to the senate, in expec-
 tation of a more favourable opportunity ; and
 the next day having thrown open the gates of
 the isle, repaired to the quarter Achradina ;
 and there, after having excused his delay and
 resistance, from the fear he had been in of be-
 ing involved in the tyrant's punishment as his

* Sed evocatum eum ab le-
 gatis Demarata uxor, filia
 Hieronis, inflata adhuc regis
 animis ac muliebri spiritu,
 admonet saepe uiurpata Dio-

nyfii tyranni vocis : qua, pe-
 dibus tractum, non insiden-
 tem equo, relinquere tyran-
 nidem dixerit debere.

uncle, he declared, that he was come to put his person and interests into the hands of the senate. Then turning towards the tyrant's murderers, and addressing himself to Theodotus and Sosis; "You have done, said he, a memorable action. But believe me, your glory is only begun, and has not yet attained the height it is capable of. If you do not take care to establish peace and union amongst the citizens, the republick is in great danger of expiring, and of being destroyed at the very moment she begins to taste the blessings of liberty." After this discourse, he laid the keys of the isle and the king's treasures at their feet. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occasion, and the temples were thronged, during the rest of the day, with infinite numbers of people, who were to return thanks to the gods for so happy a change of affairs.

The next day the senate being assembled according to the antient custom, magistrates were appointed, amongst the principal of whom Andranadorus was elected, with Theodotus and Sosis, and some others of the conspirators who were absent.

On the other side, Hippocrates and Epicydes, whom Hieronymus had sent at the head of two thousand men, to endeavour to excite troubles in the cities, which continued to adhere to the Romans; seeing themselves, upon the news of the tyrant's death, abandoned by the soldiers under their command, they returned to Syracuse, where they demanded to be escorted in safety to Hannibal, having no longer any business in Sicily, after his death, to whom they had been sent by that general. The Syracusans were not sorry to part with those two

strangers, who were of a turbulent factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. There is in most transactions a decisive conjuncture, which never returns after having been once let slip. The negligence in assigning the time for their departure, gave them opportunity to insinuate themselves into the favour of the soldiers, who esteemed them upon account of their abilities, and to give them a disgust against the senate, and the better-inclined part of the citizens.

Andranadorus, whose wife's ambition would never let him rest, and who, till then, had covered his designs with smooth dissimulation, believing it a proper time for disclosing them, conspired with Themistus, Gelon's son-in-law, to take possession of the sovereignty. He communicated his views to a comedian, named Ariston, to whom he made nothing secret. That profession was not at all dishonourable amongst the Greeks, and was exercised by persons of no ignoble condition. Ariston, believing it his duty, as it really was, to sacrifice his friend to his country, discovered the conspiracy. Andranadorus and Themistus were immediately slain by order of the other magistrates, as they entered the senate. The people rose, and threatened to revenge their deaths; but were deterred from it, by the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators, which were thrown out of the senate-house. They were then informed of their pernicious designs; to which all the misfortunes of Sicily were ascribed, rather than to the wickedness of Hieronymus, who being only a youth, had acted entirely by their counsels. They insinuated, that his guardians and tutors had reigned in his name: That they ought to
have

have been exterminated before Hieronymus, or at least with him : That impunity had carried them on to commit new crimes, and to aspire to the tyranny : That not being able to succeed in their design by force, they had made use of dissimulation and perfidy : That neither favours and honours availed to overcome the wicked disposition of Andranadorus ; nor the electing him one of the supreme magistrates amongst the deliverers of their country, him, who was the declared enemy of liberty : That as to the rest, their ambition of reigning had been inspired into them by the princesses of the blood royal, whom they had married, the one Hiero's, the other Gelon's, daughter.

At those words the whole assembly cried out, that not one of them ought to be suffered to live, and that it was necessary to extirpate entirely the race of the tyrants, without any reserve or exception *. Such is the nature of the multitude. It either abjectly abandons itself to slavery, or lords it with insolence. But with regard to liberty, which holds the mean betwixt those two extremes, it neither knows how to be without it, or to use it ; and has always only too many flatterers always ready to enter into its passions, enflame its rage, and hurry it on to excessive violences, and the most inhuman cruelties ; to which it is but too much inclined of it self : which was the case at this time. At the request of the magistrates, which was almost sooner accepted than proposed, they

* *Hæc natura multitudinis est ; aut servet humiliter, aut superbe dominatur : libertatem, quæ media est nec spernere modicè nec habere sciunt. Et non ferme desunt* viarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes plebejorum animos ad sanguinem & cædes irritent. *Liv.*

decreed, that the royal family should be entirely destroyed.

Demarata, Hiero's, and Harmonia, Gelon's daughter, the first married to Andranadorus, and the other to Themistus, were killed first. From thence they went to the house of Heraclia, wife of Zoippus; who having been sent on an embassy to Ptolemy king of Egypt, remained there in voluntary banishment, to avoid being witness of the miseries of his country. Having been apprized, that they were coming to her, that unfortunate princess had taken refuge with her two daughters, in the most remote part of her house, near her household gods. When the assassines arrived there, with her hair loose and disordered, her face bathed in tears, and in a condition most proper to excite compassion, she conjured them, in a faltering voice interrupted with sighs, in the name of Hiero her father, and Gelon her brother, "Not to involve an innocent princess in the guilt and misfortunes of Hieronymus. She represented to them, that her husband's banishment had been to her the sole fruit of that reign: That not having had any share in the fortunes and designs of her sister Demarata, she ought to have none in her punishment. Besides, what was there to fear either from her, in the forlorn condition and almost widowhood to which she was reduced, or from her daughters, unhappy orphans, without credit or support? That if the royal family were become so odious to Syracuse, that it could not bear the sight of them, they might be banished to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their father." When she saw them inflexible to her remonstrances, forgetting herself, she implored them at least to
save

save the lives of the princesses her daughters, both of an age to inspire the most inveterate and furious of enemies with compassion ; but without making any impression upon the minds of those barbarians. Having torn her in a manner from the arms of her household gods, they stabbed her to death in the sight of her two daughters, and soon after cut their throats, already stained, and covered with the blood of their mother. What was still more deplorable in their destiny was, that immediately after their deaths, an order of the people's came for sparing their lives.

From compassion, the people in a moment proceeded to rage and fury against those, who had been so hasty in the execution, and had not left them time for reflection or repentance. They demanded that magistrates should be nominated in the room of Andranadorus and Themistus. They were a long time in suspense upon this choice. At length, somebody in the croud of the people happened to name Epicycles, another immediately mentioned Hippocrates. Those two persons were demanded with so much ardour by the multitude, which consisted of citizens and soldiers, that the senate could not prevent their being created.

The new magistrates did not immediately discover the design they had, of reinstating Syracuse in the interests of Hannibal. But they had seen with pain the measures, which had been taken before they were in office. For immediately after the re-establishment of liberty, ambassadors had been sent to Appius, to propose the renovation of the alliance, broken by Hieronymus. He had referred them to Marcellus, who was lately arrived in Sicily, with an authority superiour to his own. Marcellus, in
his

his turn, sent deputies to the magistrates of Syracuse, to treat of peace.

Upon arriving there they found the state of affairs much altered. Hippocrates and Epicydes, at first by secret practices, and afterwards by open complaints, had inspired all the world with great aversion for the Romans; giving out, that designs were formed for putting Syracuse into their hands. The behaviour of Appius, who had approached the entrance of the port with his fleet, to encourage the party in the Roman interest, strengthened those suspicions and accusations so much, that the people ran tumultuously to prevent the Romans from landing, in case they should have that design.

In this trouble and confusion it was thought proper to summon the assembly of the people. Opinions differed very much in it; and the heat of debates giving reason to fear some sedition, Apollonides, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the conjuncture. "He intimated, that never city
 " was nearer its destruction or preservation,
 " than Syracuse actually was at that time:
 " That if they all with unanimous consent
 " should join either the Romans or Carthaginians, their condition would be happy:
 " That if they were divided, the war would
 " neither be more warm nor more dangerous
 " between the Romans and Carthaginians, than
 " between the Syracusans themselves against
 " each other, as both parties must necessarily
 " have within the circumference of their own
 " walls, their own troops, armies, and generals: That it was therefore absolutely requisite to make their agreement and union
 " amongst themselves their sole care and application: and that to know which of the
 " two

“ two alliances was to be preferred, was not
 “ now the most important question. That for
 “ the rest, the authority of Hiero, in his opi-
 “ nion, ought to carry it against that of Hieronymus; and that the amity of the Romans, happily experienced for fifty years
 “ together, seemed preferable to that of the
 “ Carthaginians, upon which they could not
 “ much rely for the present, and with which
 “ they had as little reason to be satisfied with
 “ regard to the past. He added a last motive
 “ of no mean force, which was, that in de-
 “ claring against the Romans, they would have
 “ the war immediately upon their hands;
 “ whereas, on the side of Carthage, the dan-
 “ ger was more remote.”

The less passionate this discourse appeared, the more effect it had: It induced them to desire the opinion of the several bodies of the state; and the principal officers of the troops; as well natives as foreigners, were requested to confer together. The affair was long discussed with great vivacity. At length, as it appeared that there was no present means for supporting the war against the Romans, a peace with them was resolved, and ambassadors sent to conclude it.

Some days after this resolution had been taken, the Leontines sent to demand aid of Syracuse, for the defence of their frontiers. This deputation seemed to come very seasonably, for discharging the city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and removing their no less dangerous leaders. Four thousand men were ordered to march under the command of Hippecrates; of whom they were glad to be rid, and who was not sorry himself for the occasion they gave him to embroil affairs. For he no sooner arrived

arrived upon the frontier of the Roman province, than he plundered it, and cut in pieces a body of troops sent by Appius to its defence. Marcellus complained to the Syracusans of this act of hostility, and demanded, that this stranger should be banished from Sicily, with his brother Epicydes; who having repaired about the same time to Leontium, had endeavoured to embroil the inhabitants with the people of Syracuse, by exhorting them to resume their liberty as well as the Syracusans. The city of the Leontines was dependant on Syracuse; but pretended at this time to throw off the yoke, and to act independently of the Syracusans, as an entirely free city. Hence, when the Syracusans sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the Romans, and to demand the expulsion of the two Carthaginian brothers; the Leontines replied, that they had not empowered the Syracusans to make peace for them with the Romans.

The deputies of Syracuse related to Marcellus this answer from the Leontines, who were no longer at their disposal, and left him at liberty to declare war against them, without any infraction of the treaty made with them. He marched immediately to Leontium, and made himself master of it at the first attack. Hippocrates and Epicydes fled. All the deserters found in the place, to the number of two thousand, were put to the sword; but as soon as the city was taken, all the Leontines and other soldiers were spared; and even every thing taken from them was restored, except what was lost in the first tumult of a city carried by storm.

Eight thousand troops, sent by the magistrates of Syracuse to the aid of Marcellus, met a man on their route, who gave them a false account of what had passed at the taking of Leontium; exaggerating with artful malice the cruelty of the Romans, who, he falsely affirmed, had put all the inhabitants to the sword, as well as the troops sent thither by the Syracusans.

This artful falsehood, which they swallowed without suspicion, inspired them with compassion for their companions. They expressed their indignation by their murmurs. Hippocrates and Epicydès, who were before well known to these troops, appeared at the very instant of this trouble and tumult, and put themselves under their protection, not having any other resource. They were received with joy and acclamations. The report soon reached the rear of the army, where the commanders, Dinomenes and Sosis were. When they were informed of the cause of the tumult, they advanced hastily, blamed the soldiers for having received Hippocrates and Epicydès, the enemies of their country, and gave orders for their being seized and bound. The soldiers opposed this with great menaces; and the two generals sent expresses to Syracuse, to inform the senate of what had passed.

The army, however, continued its march towards Mægara, and upon the way met a courier prepared by Hippocrates, who was charged with a letter, which seemed to be written by the magistrates of Syracuse to Marcellus. They praised him for the slaughter he had made at Leontium, and exhorted him to treat all the mercenary soldiers in the same manner, in order that Syracuse might at length be restored to its liberty. The reading of this forged letter enflamed the mercenaries, of whom this body
of

of troops was almost entirely composed. They were for falling upon the few Syracusans amongst them, but were prevented from that violence by Hippocrates and Epicydes; not from the motives of pity or humanity, but that they might not entirely lose their hopes of re-entring Syracuse. They sent a man thither, whom they had gained by bribes, who related the storming of Leontium conformably to the first account. Those reports were favourably received by the multitude, who cried out, that the gates should be shut against the Romans. Hippocrates and Epicydes arrived about the same time before the city, which they entered, partly by force, and partly by the intelligence they had within it. They killed the magistrates, and took possession of the city. The next day the slaves were set at liberty, the prisoners made free, and Hippocrates and Epicydes elected into the highest offices, in a tumultuous assembly. Syracuse, in this manner, after a short irradiation of liberty, sunk again into its former slavery.

S E C T. II.

The consul Marcellus besieges Syracuse. The considerable losses of men and ships, occasioned by the dreadful machines of Archimedes, oblige Marcellus to change the siege into a blockade. He takes the city at length, by means of his intelligence within it. Death of Archimedes, killed by a soldier who did not know him.

A. M.
3709.
Ant. J. C.

214.
Liv. l. 24.
n. 33, 34.
Plut. in
Marcel.

p. 305, 307
Polyb. l. 8.
p. 515—
518.

AFFAIRS being in this state, Marcellus thought proper to quit the country of the Leontines, and advance towards Syracuse. When he was near it, he sent deputies to let the inhabitants know, that he came to restore liberty to the

the Syracusans, and not with intent to make war upon them. They were not permitted to enter the city. Hippocrates and Epicydes went out to meet them; and having heard their proposals, replied haughtily, that if the Romans intended to besiege their city, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between attacking Syracuse and attacking Leontium. Marcellus therefore determined to besiege the city by sea and land*: by land, on the side of Hierapyla; and by sea, on that of the quarter Achradina; the walls of which were washed by the waves of the sea.

He gave Appius the command of the land-forces, and reserved that of the fleet to himself. It consisted of sixty galleys of five benches of oars, which were full of soldiers armed with bows, slings, and darts, to scower the walls. There were a great number of other vessels, laden with all sorts of engines, used in attacking places.

The Romans, carrying on the assault at two different places, Syracuse was in great consternation, and apprehended, that nothing could oppose so terrible a power, and such mighty efforts. And it had indeed been impossible to have resisted them, without the assistance of a single man, whose wonderful industry was every thing to the Syracusans: this was Archimedes. He had taken care to supply the walls with all things necessary to a good defence. As soon as his engines began to play on the land-side, they discharged upon the infantry all sorts of darts, and stones of an enormous weight, which flew with so much noise, force, and rapidity, that nothing could oppose their shock. They

* The description of Syracuse may be seen in Vol. III.

beat down and dashed to pieces all before them, and threw all the ranks of the besiegers into terrible disorder.

Marcellus succeeded no better on the side of the sea. Archimedes had disposed his machines in such a manner, as to throw darts to any distance. Though the enemy lay far from the city, he reached them with his larger and more forcible engines and Catapultæ. When they overshot their mark, he had smaller, proportioned to the distance : which put the Romans into such confusion, as made them incapable of attempting any thing.

This was not the greatest danger. Archimedes had placed lofty and strong machines behind the walls, which suddenly letting fall vast beams, with immense weight at the end of them upon the ships, sunk them to the bottom. Besides this, he caused an iron grapple to be let out by a chain ; the person who guided the engine, having caught hold of the head of a ship with this hook, by the means of a weight let down within the walls, it was lifted up, and set upon its stern, and held so for some time ; then by letting go the chain, either by a wheel or a pulley, it was let fall again with its whole weight either on its head or side, and often entirely sunk. At other times the machines dragging the ship towards the shore by cords and hooks, after having made it whirl about a great while, dashed it to pieces against the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls, and thereby destroyed all within it. Gallies, frequently seized and suspended in the air, were whirled about with rapidity, exhibiting a dreadful sight to the spectators ; from whence they were let fall into the sea, and sunk to the bottom, with all that were in them.

Marcellus

Marcellus had prepared, at great expence, machines called *Sambucæ*, from their resemblance to a musical instrument of that name. He appointed eight galleys of five benches for that use, from which the oars were removed; from the one on the right, and from the others on the left side. These were joined together, two and two, on the sides without oars. This machine consisted of a ladder of the breadth of four feet, which when erect was of equal height with the walls. It was laid at length upon the sides of two galleys joined together, and extended considerably beyond their beaks; upon the masts of these vessels were affixed cords and pullies. When it was to work, the cords were made fast to the extremity of the machine, and men upon the poop drew it up by the help of the pullies; others at the head assisted in raising it with leavers. The galleys afterwards, being thrust forward to the foot of the walls, the machines were applied to them. The bridge of the *Sambuca* was then let down, (no doubt after the manner of a drawbridge) upon which the besiegers passed to the walls of the place besieged.

This machine had not the expected effect. Whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a vast stone upon it that weighed ten * quintals, then a second, and immediately after a third; all which striking against it with dreadful force and noise, beat down and broke its supports, and gave the galleys upon which it stood such a shock, that they parted from each other.

* *The Quintal, which the Greeks called τάλαντον, was weighed an hundred and twenty five pounds: the largest more than twelve hundred.*

Marcellus, almost discouraged, and at a loss what to do, retired as fast as possible with his galleys, and sent orders to his land-forces to do the same. He called also a council of war, in which it was resolved the next day before sunrise, to endeavour to approach the walls. They were in hopes, by this means, to shelter themselves from the engines, which, for want of a distance, proportioned to their force, would be rendered ineffectual.

But Archimedes had provided against all contingencies. He had prepared engines long before, as we have already observed, which were adapted to all distances, and carried a proportionate quantity of darts; to these he had provided timbers of all sizes, that required little time in making ready; and consequently the least machines were most frequent in discharging. He had, besides, made small chafms or loopholes in the walls at little distances, where he had placed * scorpions, which not carrying far, wounded those who approached, without its being perceived from whence they were discharged.

When the Romans, according to their design, had gained the foot of the walls, and thought themselves very well covered, they found themselves exposed either to an infinity of darts, or overwhelmed with stones, which fell directly upon their heads; there being no part of the wall which did not continually pour that mortal hail upon them. This obliged them to retire. But they were no sooner removed, than a new discharge of darts overtook them in

* The scorpions were machines in the nature of cross-bows, which the ancients used in discharging darts and stones.

their retreat ; so that they lost great numbers of men, and almost all their galleys were disabled or beat to pieces, without their being able to revenge their loss in the least upon their enemies. For Archimedes had planted most of his machines in security behind the walls : and the Romans, says Plutarch, repulsed by an infinity of wounds, without seeing the place or hand from which they came, seemed really to fight with the gods.

Marcellus, though at a loss what to do, and not knowing how to oppose the machines of Archimedes, could not, however, forbear pleasures upon them. “ Shall we persist, said he to his workmen and engineers, in making war upon this Briareus of a geometrician, who treats my galleys and sambucas so rudely ? He infinitely exceeds the fabled giants with their hundred hands, in his perpetual and surprizing discharges upon us.” Marcellus had reason for referring to Archimedes only. For the Syracusans were really no more than members of the engines and machines of that great geometrician, who was himself the soul of all their powers and operations. All other arms were unemployed, for the city at that time made use of none, either defensive or offensive, but those of Archimedes.

Marcellus at length perceiving the Romans so much intimidated, that if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they would immediately fly, crying out, that Archimedes was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them ; he renounced his hopes of being able to make a breach in the place, gave over his attacks, and turned the siege into a blockade. The Romans conceived,

they had no other resource than to reduce the great number of people in the city by famine, in cutting off all provisions that might be brought to them either by sea or land. During the eight months in which they laid siege to the city, there were no kind of stratagems which they did not invent, nor any actions of valour left untried, almost to the assault itself, which they never dared to attempt more. So much force, upon some occasions, have a single man, and a single science, when rightly applied. Deprive Syracuse of only one old man, the great strength of the Roman arms must inevitably take the city ; his sole presence arrests and disconcerts all their designs.

We here see, which I cannot repeat too often, how much interest princes have in protecting arts, favouring the learned, animating academies of science by honourable distinctions and actual rewards, which never ruin or impoverish a state. I say nothing in this place of the birth and nobility of Archimedes : he was not indebted to them for the happiness of his genius, and profound knowledge. I consider him only as a learned man, and an excellent geometrician. What a loss had Syracuse sustained, if to have saved a small expence and pension, such a man had been abandoned to inaction and obscurity ! Hiero was far from behaving in that manner. He knew all the value of our geometrician ; and it is no vulgar merit in a prince to understand that of other men. He placed it in honour ; he made it useful ; and did not stay, till occasion or necessity obliged him to do so : which would have been too late. By a wise foresight, the true character of a great prince and a great minister, in the

the very * arms of peace he provided all that was necessary for supporting a siege, and making war with success; though at that time there was no appearance of any thing to be apprehended from the Romans, with whom Syracuse was allied in the strictest manner. Hence were seen to arise in an instant, as out of the earth, an incredible number of engines of every kind and size, the very sight of which were sufficient to strike armies with terror and confusion.

There is, amongst these machines, of which we can scarce conceive the effects, matter to tempt us to call their reality in question, if it were allowable to doubt the evidence of writers, such, for instance, as Polybius, an almost contemporary author, who treated facts entirely recent, and such as were well known to all the world. But how can we refuse our consent to the united authority of Greek and Roman historians, in regard to circumstances, of which whole armies were witnesses, and experienced the effects; and which had so great influence in the events of the war? What passed in this siege of Syracuse, shews how high the ancients had carried their genius and art, in besieging and supporting sieges. Our artillery, which so perfectly imitates thunder, has not more effect than the engines of Archimedes, if they have so much.

A burning-glass is spoken of, by the means of which Archimedes is said to have burnt part of the Roman fleet. That must have been an extraordinary invention; but as no ancient author mentions it, it is, no doubt, a modern tradition, without any foundation. Burning-glass-

* In pace, ut sapiens, aptavit idorea bello. *Horat.*

And, wise in peace, prepared the arms of wars.

ses were known to antiquity ; but not of that kind, which indeed seem impracticable.

A. M.

3791.

Ant. J. C.

213.

Liv. l. 24.

n. 35, 36.

After Marcellus had resolved to confine himself to the blockade of Syracuse, he left Appius before the place with two thirds of the army, advanced with the other into the island, and brought over some cities into the Roman interest.

At the same time Himilcon, general of the Carthaginians, arrived in Sicily with a great army, in hopes of reconquering it, and expelling the Romans.

Hippocrates left Syracuse with ten thousand foot and five hundred horse to join him, and carry on the war in concert against Marcellus. Epicydes remained in the city, to command there during the blockade.

The fleets of the two people appeared at the same time on the coast of Sicily ; but that of the Carthaginians seeing itself weaker than the other, was afraid to hazard a battle, and soon failed back for Carthage.

Marcellus had continued eight months before Syracuse with Appius, according to Polybius, when the year of his consulship expired. Livy places the expedition of Marcellus in Sicily, and his victory over Hippocrates in this year, which necessarily fell out in the second year of the siege. And indeed Livy has given us no account of this second year, because he had ascribed to it what passed in the first. For it is highly improbable, that nothing memorable happened in it. This is the conjecture of Mr. Crevier, professor of rhetorick in the college of Beauvais, who has lately published a new edition of Livy, with remarks, with which I am convinced the publick will be well satisfied. The first volume of this work appeared some months

ago, in the front of which there is a long preface worthy of being read.

Marcellus employed a great part of the second year of the siege in several expeditions in Sicily. In his return from Agrigentum, upon which he had made an ineffectual attempt, he came up with the army of Hippocrates, which he beat, and killed above eight thousand men. This advantage kept those in their duty, who had entertained thoughts of going over to the Carthaginians. After the gaining of this victory he returned against Syracuse, and having dismissed Appius for Rome, who went thither to demand the consulship, he put Crispinus into his place.

In the beginning of the third campaign, Marcellus, almost absolutely despairing of being able to take Syracuse; either by force, because Archimedes continually opposed him with invincible obstacles; or famine, as the Carthaginian fleet, which was returned more numerous than before, easily threw in convoys, deliberated whether he should continue before Syracuse to push the siege, or turn his endeavours against Agrigentum. But before he came to a final determination, he was inclined to try whether he could not make himself master of Syracuse by some secret intelligence. There were many Syracusans in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. A slave of one of these secretly carried on an intrigue, into which fourscore of the principal persons of the city engaged, who came in companies to consult with him in his camp, concealed in barks under the nets of fishermen. The conspiracy was upon the point of taking effect, when a person named Attalus, in resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered

A. M. 3792.
Ant. J. C. 212.
Liv. l. 25.
n. 23, 31.
Plut. in
Marcel p.
308, 309.

the whole to Epicydes, who put all the conspirators to death.

This enterprize having miscarried in this manner, Marcellus found himself in new difficulties. Nothing came into his thoughts but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having consumed so much time, and sustained the loss of so many men and ships in it. An accidental event presented him a resource, and gave new life to his hopes. Some Roman vessels had taken one Damippus, whom Epicydes had sent to negotiate with Philip king of Macedon. The Syracusans expressed a great desire to ransom this man, and Marcellus was not averse to it. A place near the port Trogilus was agreed on for the conferences, concerning the ransom of the prisoner. As the deputies went thither several times, it came into a Roman soldier's thoughts to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones, and examined with his eye the measure of each of them, upon a calculation of the height of the wall, he found it to be much lower than it was believed, and concluded, that with ladders of a moderate size it might be easily scaled. Without loss of time he related the whole to Marcellus. The general is not always the only wise man in an army : a private soldier may sometimes furnish him with important hints. Marcellus did not neglect this advice, and assured himself of its reality with his own eyes. Having caused ladders to be got ready, he took the opportunity of a festival, which the Syracusans celebrated for three days in honour of Diana, during which the inhabitants gave themselves up entirely to rejoicing and good cheer. At the time of night when he conceived, that the Syracusans, after their debauch, began to
grow

grow drowsy, and fall asleep, he made a thousand chosen troops, in profound silence, advance with their ladders to the wall. When the first got to the top without noise or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. These thousand soldiers, taking the advantage of the enemy's stillness, who were either drunk or asleep, soon scaled the wall. Having thrown down the gate of Hexapyla, they took possession of the quarter of the city called Epipolis.

It was then no longer time to deceive, but terrify the enemy. The Syracusans, awakened by the noise, began to rouse, and to put themselves in motion. Marcellus made all his trumpets sound together, which so frightened and alarmed them, that all the inhabitants fled, believing every quarter of the city possessed by the enemy. The strongest and best part, however, called Achradina, was not yet taken, because separated by its walls from the rest of the city.

Marcellus at day-break entered * Villanova, or the new city, by the quarter called Tycha. Epicydes, having immediately drawn up some troops, which he had in the isle joining Achradina, marched against Marcellus : but finding him stronger and better attended than he expected, after a slight skirmish, he shut himself up in the quarter Achradina.

All the captains and officers with Marcellus congratulated him upon this extraordinary success. For himself, when he had considered from an eminence the loftiness, beauty, and

* The new city, or Neapolis, was called Epipolis, and in the later times had been taken into the city and surrounded with walls.

extent of that city, he is said to shed tears, and to have been moved with the unhappy condition it was upon the point of experiencing. He called to mind the two powerful Athenian fleets which had been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them : the many wars sustained with so much valour against the Carthaginians : the many famous tyrants and potent kings : Hiero particularly, whose memory was still recent, who had signalized himself by so many royal virtues ; and still more, by the important services he had rendered the Roman people, whose interests had always been as dear to him as his own ; struck with this remembrance, he believed it incumbent upon him, before he attacked Achradina, to send to the besieged, to exhort them to surrender voluntarily, and prevent the ruin of their city. His remonstrances and exhortations had no effect.

He then, to prevent being interrupted in his rear, attacked a fort called Euryale, which lay at the bottom of the new town, and commanded the whole country on the land-side. After having carried it, he turned all his efforts against Achradina.

During these transactions, Hippocrates and Himilcon arrived. The first with the Sicilians having placed and fortified his camp near the great gate, and given the signal to those who were in possession of Achradina, attacked the old camp of the Romans, in which Crispinus commanded : Epicydes at the same time made a salley upon the posts of Marcellus. Neither of these enterprizes were successful. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him as far as his entrenchments, and

Mar-

Marcellus obliged Epicydes to shut himself up in Achradina.

As it was then the autumn, there happened a plague, which killed great numbers in the city, and still more in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. The malady was not excessive at first, and proceeded only from the bad air and season. But afterwards the communication with the infected, and even the care taken of them, dispersed the contagion; from whence it happened, that some neglected and absolutely abandoned, died of the violence of the distemper, and others received help, which became fatal to those who brought it. Death, and the sight of such as were buried, continually presented a mournful object to the eyes of the living. Nothing was heard night and day but groans and laments. At length, the being accustomed to the evil, had hardened their hearts to such a degree, and so far extinguished all sense of compassion in them; that they not only ceased to grieve for the dead, but left them without interment. Nothing was to be seen every where but dead bodies, exposed to the view of those who expected the same fate. The Carthaginians suffered much more from it than the others. As they had no place to retire to, they almost all perished with their generals Hippocrates and Himilcon. Marcellus, from the breaking out of the disease, had brought his soldiers into the city, where the roofs and shade was of great relief to them; he lost, however, no inconsiderable number of them.

Bomilcar, notwithstanding, who commanded the Carthaginian fleet, and had made a second voyage to Carthage to bring back a new supply, returned with an hundred and thirty ships, and seven hundred transports. He was prevented

vented by contrary winds from doubling the cape of Pachynus. Epicydes, who was afraid, that if those winds continued, this fleet might be discouraged and return to Africa, left Achradina to the care of the generals of the mercenary troops, and went to Bomilcar, whom he persuaded to try the event of a naval battle. Marcellus, seeing the troops of the Sicilians increase every day, and that if he stayed, and suffered himself to be shut up in Syracuse, he should be very much pressed at the same time by sea and land, resolved, though not so strong in ships, to oppose the passage of the Carthaginian fleet. As soon as the high winds abated, Bomilcar stood to sea in order to double the cape. But when he saw the Roman ships advance towards him in good order, on a sudden, for what reason is not said, he took to flight, sent orders to the transports to regain Africa, and retired to Tarentum. Epicydes, who had been disappointed in such great hopes, and was apprehensive of returning into a city already half taken, made sail for Agrigentum, rather with design to wait the event of the siege in that place, than attempt any movement from thence.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuse, and the Carthaginians Sicily, they sent deputies to Marcellus, after having sounded the disposition of the besieged, to treat upon the conditions Syracuse should surrender. It was agreed with unanimity enough on both sides, that what had appertained to the kings should appertain to the Romans ; that the Sicilians should retain all the rest with their laws and liberty. After these preliminaries, they demanded a conference with those Epicydes had charged with the government

vernment in his absence. They told them, they had been sent by the army to Marcellus and the inhabitants of Syracuse, in order that all the Sicilians, as well within as without the city, might have the same fate, and that no separate convention might be made. Having been permitted to enter the city, and to confer with their friends and relations, after having informed them of what they had already agreed with Marcellus, and given them assurances, that their lives would be safe, they persuaded them to begin, by removing the three governors Epicydes had left in his place, which was immediately put in execution.

After which, having assembled the people, they represented, “ That for whatever miseries
 “ they had suffered till then, or should suffer
 “ from thenceforth, they ought not to accuse
 “ fortune, as it depended upon themselves
 “ alone to put an end to them : That if the
 “ Romans had undertaken the siege of Syra-
 “ cuse, it was out of affection not hatred to
 “ the Syracusans : That it was not till after
 “ they had been apprized of the oppressions
 “ they suffered from Hippocrates and Epicy-
 “ des, those ambitious emissaries of Hannibal,
 “ as they were afterwards agents of Hierony-
 “ mus : That they had taken arms and began
 “ the siege of the city, not to ruin it but to
 “ destroy its tyrants. But as Hippocrates
 “ was dead, Epicydes no longer in Syracuse,
 “ his lieutenants slain, and the Carthaginians
 “ dispossessed of Sicily, both by sea and land,
 “ what reason could the Romans now have for
 “ not inclining as much to preserve Syracuse,
 “ as if Hiero, the sole example of faith to
 “ them, were still alive ? That neither the city
 “ nor the inhabitants had any thing to fear
 “ but

“ but from themselves, in letting slip the occasion of renewing their amity with the Romans : That they never had so favourable an opportunity as the present, when they were just delivered from the violent government of their tyrants ; and that the first use they ought to make of their liberty, was to return to their duty.”

This discourse was perfectly well received by every body. It was however judged proper to create new magistrates before the nomination of deputies ; the latter of which were taken from the former. The deputy who spoke in their name, and who was instructed solely to use his utmost endeavours that Syracuse might not be destroyed, addressed himself to Marcellus to this effect : “ It was not the people of Syracuse, who first broke the alliance, and declared war against you, but Hieronymus, less guilty still to Rome than to his country : and afterwards, when the peace was restored by his death, it was not any Syracusan that infringed it, but the tyrant’s instruments, Hippocrates and Epicydes. It was they who have made war against you, after having made us slaves, either by violence, or fraud and perfidy ; and it cannot be said that we have had any times of liberty that have not also been times of peace with you. At present, as soon as we are become masters of our selves by the death of those, who held Sicily in subjection, we come the very instant to deliver up to you our arms, our persons, our walls, and our city, determined not to refuse any conditions you shall think fit to impose.” For the rest, continued he, addressing himself always to Marcellus, “ your interest is as much concerned as ours. The
“ gods

“ gods have granted you the glory of having
“ taken the finest and most illustrious city pos-
“ sessed by the Greeks. All we have ever at-
“ chieved of memorable either by sea or land,
“ will swell your triumph, and exalt its va-
“ lue. Fame is not a sufficiently faithful chro-
“ nicler to make known the greatness and
“ strength of the city you have taken ; poste-
“ rity can only judge of them by its own eyes.
“ It is necessary that we should shew to all
“ travellers, from whatever part of the uni-
“ verse they come, sometimes the trophies we
“ have obtained from the Athenians and Car-
“ thaginians, and sometimes those you have ac-
“ quired from us ; and that Syracuse, thus
“ placed for ever under the protection of Mar-
“ cellus, may be a lasting, an eternal monu-
“ ment of the valour and clemency of him,
“ who took and preserved it. It is unjust that
“ the remembrance of Hieronymus should have
“ more weight with you than that of Hiero.
“ The latter was much longer your friend than
“ the former your enemy. Permit me to say,
“ you have experienced the amity of Hiero :
“ but the senseless enterprizes of Hieronymus
“ have fallen only on his own head.”

The difficulty was not to obtain what they demanded from Marcellus, but to preserve tranquillity and union amongst those in the city. The deserters, convinced that they should be delivered up to the Romans, inspired the foreign soldiers with the same fear. Both the one and the other having therefore taken arms, whilst the deputies were still in the camp of Marcellus, they began, by cutting the throats of the magistrates newly elected ; and dispersing themselves on all sides, put all to the sword they met, and plundered whatever fell in their way.

way. That they might not be without leaders they appointed six officers, three to command in Achradina, and three in the isle. The tumult being at length appeased, the foreign troops were informed from all hands, it was concluded with the Romans, that their cause should be entirely distinct from that of the deserters. At the same instant, the deputies sent to Marcellus arrived, who fully undeceived them.

Amongst those who commanded in Syracuse, there was a Spaniard named Mericus : him means was found to corrupt. He gave up the gate near the fountain Arethusa to soldiers, sent by Marcellus in the night to take possession of it. At day-break, the next morning, Marcellus made a false attack at Achradina, to draw all the forces of the citadel, and the isle adjoining to it, to that side, and to facilitate the throwing some troops into the isle, which would be unguarded, by the means of some vessels he had prepared. Every thing succeeded according to his plan. The soldiers, whom those vessels had landed in the isle, finding almost all the posts abandoned, and the gates by which the garrison of the citadel had marched out against Marcellus still open, they took possession of them after a slight encounter. Marcellus having received advice that he was master of the isle, and of part of Achradina, and that Mericus, with the body under his command, had joined his troops, ordered a retreat to be sounded, that the treasures of the kings might not be plundered ; which did not amount so high as was imagined.

The deserters having escaped, a passage being expressly made for them, the Syracusans opened all their gates to Marcellus, and sent deputies

deputies to him with instructions to demand nothing further from him, than the preservation of the lives of themselves and their children. Marcellus having assembled his council, and some Syracusans who were in his camp, gave his answer to the deputies in their presence : “ That Hiero, for fifty years, had not
 “ done the Roman people more good, than
 “ those who had been masters of Syracuse some
 “ years past, had intended to do them harm ;
 “ but that their ill-will had fallen upon their
 “ own heads, and they had punished them-
 “ selves for their violation of treaties in a more
 “ severe manner, than the Romans could have
 “ desired : That he had besieged Syracuse du-
 “ ring three years, not that the Roman people
 “ might reduce it into slavery, but to prevent
 “ the chiefs of the revoltors from continuing
 “ it under oppression : That he had under-
 “ gone many fatigues and dangers in so long
 “ a siege ; but that he thought he had made
 “ himself ample amends by the glory of ha-
 “ ving taken that city, and the satisfaction of
 “ having saved it from the entire ruin it seem-
 “ ed to deserve.” After having placed a guard upon the treasury, and safe-guards in the houses of the Syracusans, who had withdrawn into his camp, he abandoned the city to be plundered by the troops. It is reported, that the riches which were pillaged in Syracuse at this time, exceeded all that could have been expected at the taking of Carthage itself.

An unhappy accident interrupted the joy of Marcellus, and gave him a very sensible affliction. Archimedes, at the time when all things were in this confusion at Syracuse, shut up in his closet like a man of another world, who had no share in what passed in this, was

intent upon the study of some geometrical figure, and not only his eyes but the whole faculties of his soul were so engaged in this contemplation, that he had neither heard the tumult of the Romans, universally busy in plundering, nor the report of the city's being taken. A soldier on a sudden comes in upon him, and bids him follow him to Marcellus. Archimedes desired him to stay a moment, till he had solved his problem, and finished the demonstration of it. The soldier, who regarded neither his problem nor demonstration, enraged at this delay, drew his sword and killed him. Marcellus was exceedingly afflicted, when he heard the news of his death. Not being able to restore him to life, of which he would have been very glad, he applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after all his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. As for Archimedes, he caused his funeral to be celebrated in the most solemn manner, and erected him a monument amongst the great persons who had distinguished themselves most at Syracuse.

ARTICLE III.

SECT. I.

Tomb of Archimedes discovered by Cicero.

ARCHIMEDES, by his will, had desired his relations and friends to place no other epitaph on his tomb, after his death, but a cylinder circumscribed by a sphere; that is
to

to say, a globe or spherical figure; and to set down at the bottom the relation those two solids, the containing and the contained, have to each other. He might have filled up the bases of the columns of his tomb with relievos, whereton the whole history of the siege of Syracuse might have been carved, and himself appeared like another Jupiter thundering upon the Romans. But he set an infinitely higher value upon a discovery, a geometrical demonstration, than upon all the so much celebrated machines of his invention. So that he chose rather to do himself honour with posterity, by the discovery he had made of the relation of a sphere to a cylinder of the same base and height; which is as two to three.

The Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man, who had done so much honour to their city. Less than a hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was so perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithstanding the great services he had done them, that they denied his having been buried at Syracuse. It is from Cicero we have this circumstance.

At the time he was questor in Sicily, his curiosity induced him to make a search after the tomb of Archimedes; a curiosity that became a man of Cicero's genius, and merits the imitation of all who travel. The Syracusans assured him, that his search would be to no purpose, and that there was no such monument amongst them. Cicero pitied their ignorance, which only served to encrease his desire of making that discovery. At length, after several fruitless attempts he perceived, without the gate of the city facing Agrigentum, amongst a great

Cic. Tusc.
Quæst. l. 5.
n. 64, 66.

^a *Euphras.* in
verb. Ar-
chim.

number of tombs in that place, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those, who have any taste for antiquity, may easily conceive the joy of Cicero upon this occasion. He cried out, *that he had found what he looked for*. The place was immediately ordered to be cleared, when they saw the inscription still legible, though part of the lines were obliterated by time. * So that, says Cicero, in concluding his account, the greatest city of Greece, and the most flourishing of old in the studies of science, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man, born in a country it considered almost as barbarous, had not discovered for it the tomb of one of its citizens, so highly distinguished by his force and penetration of mind.

We are obliged to Cicero for having left us this curious and elegant account : but we cannot easily pardon him the contemptuous manner in which he speaks at first of Archimedes. It is in the beginning, where intending to compare the unhappy life of Dionysius the tyrant, with the felicity of one passed in tranquillity and moderation; and abounding with wisdom, he says † : “ I will not compare the lives of a “ Plato or an Architas, persons of consummate “ learning and wisdom, with that of Diony-

* Ita nobilissima Græciæ civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissima, sui civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didicisset.

† Non ergo jam cum hujus vita, qua terribilis, miserius, detestabilius excogitare

nihil possum, Platonis aut Architæ vitam comparabo, doctorum hominum & plane sapientum. Ex eadem urbe HUMILEM HOMUNCIONEM a pulvere & radio excitabo, qui multis annis post fuit, Archimedem.

“ *sius,*

“ fuis, the moft horrid, the moft miserable,
 “ and the moft deteftable that can be imagined.
 “ I fhall have recourfe to a man of his own
 “ city, A LITTLE OBSCURE PERSON, who
 “ lived many years after him. I fhall pro-
 “ duce him from his * duft, and make him
 “ appear upon the ftage with his rule and com-
 “ paffes in his hand.” But the greateft geome-
 trician of antiquity, whofe fublime difcoveries
 have in all times been the admiration of the
 learned ; fhould Cicero have treated this man
 as a common artificer, employed in making
 machines ; unlefs it be, perhaps, becaufe the
 Romans, with whom a tafte for geometry and
 fuch speculative fciences never gained much
 ground, efteemed nothing great but what related
 to government and policy.

*Orabunt caufas melius, cælique meatus
 Describent radio, & furgentia fidera dicent :
 Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.*

VIRGIL. ÆN. 6

*Let others better mold the running mafs
 Of metals, and inform the breathing brafs,
 And foften into flefh a marble face ;
 Plead better at the bar, defcribe the skies,
 And when the ftars descend and when they rife ;
 But, Rome, 'tis thine alone with awful fway
 To rule mankind, and make the world obey ;
 Difpofing peace and war, thy own mageftick
 way.*

DRYDEN.

This is the Abbe Fraquier's reflection in the
 fhort differtation he has left us upon this paſſage
 in Cicero.

*Memoirs of
 the Aca-
 demy of In-
 ſcriptions,
 Vol. II.*

* He means the duft ufed by geometricians.

S E C T. II.

Summary of the history of Syracuse.

THE island of Sicily, with the greatest part of Italy, extended between the two seas, composed what was called Græcia major, in opposition to Greece properly so called, which had peopled all those countries by its colonies.

A. M. 3295. Syracuse was the most considerable city of Sicily, and one of the most powerfull of all Greece. It was founded by Architas the Corinthian, in the third year of the xviii. Olympiad.

A. M. 3520. The two first ages of its history are very obscure, and therefore we are silent upon them. It does not begin to be known till after the reign of Gelon, and furnishes in the sequel many great events, for the space of more than two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of slavery under the tyrants, and liberty under a popular government; till Syracuse is at length subjected to the Romans, and makes part of their empire.

I have treated all these events, except the last, in the order of time. But as they are cut into different sections, and dispersed in different books, we thought proper to unite them here in one point of view, that their series and connection might be the more evident, from their being shewn together and in general, and the places pointed out, where they are treated with due extent.

G E L O N.

GELON.

The Carthaginians, in concert with Xerxes, A. M. having attacked the Greeks who inhabited Sicily, whilst that prince was employed in making an irruption into Greece; Gelon, who had made himself master of Syracuse, obtained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians, the very day of the battle of Thermopylæ. Amilcar, their general, was killed in this battle. Historians speak differently of his death, which has occasioned my falling into a contradiction. For on one side I suppose with * Diodorus Siculus, that he was killed by the Sicilians in the battle; and on the other I say after Herodotus, that to avoid the shame of surviving his defeat, he threw himself into the pile, in which he had sacrificed human victims.

Gelon, upon returning from his victory, repaired to the assembly without arms or guards, to give the people an account of his conduct. He was chosen king unanimously. He reigned five or six years solely employed in the truly royal care of making his people happy. Vol. I. p. 157, &c. Vol. III. p. 311. A. M. 3525.

HIERO I.

Hiero, the eldest of Gelon's brothers, succeeded him. The beginning of his reign was worthy of great praise. Simonides and Pindar celebrated him in emulation of each other. The latter part of it did not answer the former. He reigned eleven years. Vol. III. p. 318, &c. A. M. 3543.

* In the history of the Carthaginians.

THRASIBULUS.

A. M.
3543.

Thrasibulus his brother succeeded him. He rendered himself odious to all his subjects, by his vices and cruelty. They expelled him the throne and city, after a reign of one year. Vol. III. p. 324.

*Times of liberty.*A. M.
3544.

After his expulsion, Syracuse and all Sicily enjoyed their liberty for the space of almost sixty years.

An annual festival was instituted to celebrate the day upon which their liberty was re-established.

*Syracuse attacked by the Athenians.*A. M.
3588.

During this interval, the Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Alcibiades, turned their arms against Syracuse; this was in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. How fatal the event of this war was to the Athenians, may be seen, Vol. III. p. 464, &c.

DIONYSIUS the elder.

A. M.
3598.

The reign of this prince is famous for its length of thirty-eight years; and still more, for the extraordinary events with which it was attended. Vol. I. p. 163. & Vol. V. p. 108, &c.

DIONYSIUS the younger.

A. M.
3632.

Dionysius, son of the elder Dionysius, succeeded him. He contracts a particular intimacy

macy with Plato, and has frequent conversations with him; who comes to his court at the request of Dion, the near relation of Dionysius. He did not long improve from the wise precepts of that philosopher, and soon abandoned himself to all the vices and excesses which attend tyranny.

Besieged by Dion, he escapes from Sicily, A. M. 3644- and retires into Italy.

Dion's excellent qualities. He is assassinated A. M. 3646. in his own house by Callippus.

Thirteen months after the death of Dion, A. M. Hipparinus, brother of Dionysius the younger, 3647- expelled Callippus from Syracuse, where he established himself. During the two years of his reign, Sicily is agitated by great commotions.

Dionysius the younger taking advantage of A. M. those troubles, reascends the throne ten years 3654- after having quitted it.

At last, reduced by Timoleon, he retires A. M. to Corinth. Vol. I. p. 172, &c. Vol. V. 3657- p. 159.

Times of Liberty.

Timoleon restores liberty to Syracuse. He A. M. passes the rest of his life there in a glorious 3658- retirement, beloved and honoured by all the citizens and strangers. Vol. V. p. 335, &c.

This interval of liberty was of no long duration.

AGATHOCLES.

Agathocles, in a short time, makes himself A. M. tyrant of Syracuse. Vol. I. p. 176, &c. 3685-

He commits unparalleled cruelties.

He

He forms one of the boldest designs related in history ; carries the war into Africa ; makes himself master of the strongest places, and ravages the whole country.

After various events he perishes miserably. He reigned about twenty-eight years.

Times of liberty.

A. M.
3713.

Syracuse took new life again for some time, and tasted with joy the sweets of liberty.

But she had much to suffer from the Carthaginians, who disturbed her tranquillity by continual wars.

She called in Pyrrhus to her aid. The rapid success of his arms at first, gave him great hopes, which soon vanished. Pyrrhus, by a sudden retreat, plunged the Syracusans into new misfortunes. Vol. I. p. 189. Vol. VII. p. 276, &c.

HIERO II.

They were not happy and in tranquillity till the reign of Hiero II, which was very long, and almost always pacifick.

HIERONYMUS.

He scarce reigned one year. His death was followed with great troubles, and the taking of Syracuse by Marcellus.

After that period, what passed in Sicily to its total reduction is little remarkable. There were still some remains of war fomented in it by the partisans of tyranny, and the Carthaginians who supported them : but those wars had no consequence, and Rome was soon absolute mistress

mistress of all Sicily. Half the island had been a Roman province from the treaty which put an end to the first punick war. By that treaty Sicily was divided into two parts; the one continued in the possession of the Romans, and the other under the government of Hiero; which last part, after the surrender of Syracuse, fell also into their hands.

S E C T. III.

Reflections upon the government and character of the Syracusans, and upon Archimedes.

BY the taking of Syracuse all Sicily became a province of the Roman empire: but it was not treated as the Spaniards and Carthaginians were afterwards, upon whom a certain tribute was imposed as the reward of the victory, and punishment of the vanquished: *quasi victoriæ præmium, ac pæna belli*. Sicily, in submitting to the * Roman people, retained all her antient rights and customs, and obeyed them upon the same conditions she had obeyed her kings. And she certainly well deserved that privilege and distinction. † She was the first

* *Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam recepimus, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent; eadem conditione populo R. parerent, qua suis antea paruissent. Cic. ibid.*

† Omnium nationum exterarum princeps Sicilia se ad amicitiam fidemque populi R. applicuit: prima omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata: prima docuit ma-

jores nostros, quam præclarum esset exteris gentibus imperare—— Itaque majoribus nostris in Africam ex hac provincia gradus imperii factus est. Neque enim tam facile opes Carthaginis tantæ concidissent, nisi illud, & rei frumentariæ subsidium; & receptaculum classibus nostris pateret. Quare P. Africanus, Carthagine deleta, Siculo-
rum urbes signis monu-
mentisque

first of all the foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with the Romans; the first conquest their arms had the glory to make out of Italy; and the first country that had given them the grateful experience of commanding a foreign people. The greatest part of the Sicilian cities had expressed an unexampled attachment, fidelity, and affection for the Romans. The island was afterwards a kind of pass for their troops into Africa; and Rome would not so easily have reduced the formidable power of the Carthaginians, if Sicily had not served it as a magazine, abounding with provisions, and a secure retreat for their fleets. So that after the taking and ruin of Carthage, Scipio Africanus thought himself obliged to adorn the cities of Sicily with a great number of excellent paintings and curious statues; in order that a people, who were so highly satisfied with the success of the Roman arms, might be sensible of its effects, and retain illustrious monuments of their victories amongst them.

Sicily would have been happy in being governed by the Romans, if she had always had such magistrates from them as Cicero, instructed like him in the obligations of his function, and like him, intent upon the due discharge of it. It is highly pleasing to hear him explain himself upon this subject, as he does in his defence of Sicily against Verres.

After having invoked the gods as witnesses of the sincerity of what he is going to expose,

mentisque pulcherrimis ex-	apud eos monumenta victo-
ornavit; ut, quos victoria	riæ plurima collocaret. Cic.
populi R. lætari arbitrabatur,	Verr. 3. n. 2, 3.

he says: * “ In all the employments, with
 “ which the Roman people have honoured me
 “ to this day, I have ever thought my self
 “ obliged by the most sacred ties of religion,
 “ to discharge worthily the duties of them.
 “ When I was made questor, I looked upon
 “ that dignity not as a gratuity conferred up-
 “ on me for my particular use, but as a depo-
 “ site confided to my vigilance and fidelity.
 “ When I was afterwards sent to act in that
 “ office, I thought all eyes were turned upon
 “ me, and that my person and administration
 “ were in a manner exhibited as a spectacle to
 “ the view of all the world; and in this
 “ thought I not only denied my self all
 “ pleasures of an extraordinary kind, but even
 “ those which are authorized by nature and
 “ necessity. I am now intended for ædile. I
 “ call the gods to witness, that how honoura-
 “ ble soever this dignity seems to me, I have
 “ too just a sense of its weight, not to have
 “ more sollicitude and disquiet, than joy and

* *Odi immortales — Ita mihi meam voluntatem sper-
 que reliquæ vitæ vestra po-
 pulique R. existimatio com-
 probet, ut ego quos adhuc
 mihi magistratus populus. R.
 mandavit, sic eos accepi, ut
 me omnium officiorum ob-
 st.ingi religione arbitrarer.
 Ita quæstor sum factus, ut
 mihi honorem illum non tam
 datum quam creditum ac
 commissum putarem. Sic
 obtinui quæsturam in provin-
 cia, ut omnium oculos in me
 unum coniectos arbitrarer:
 ut me quæsturamque meam
 quasi in aliquo ortis terræ
 theatro versari existimarem;*

*ut omnia semper, quæ ju-
 cunda videntur esse, non
 modo his extraordinariis cu-
 piditatibus, sed etiam ipsi na-
 turæ ac necessitati denega-
 rem. Nunc sum designatus
 ædilis — Ita mihi deos omnes
 propitios esse velim, ut, ta-
 met si mihi jucundissimus est
 honos populi, tamen nequa-
 quam tantum capio voluptas,
 quantum sollicitudinis & la-
 boris, ut hæc ipsa ædilitas,
 non quia necesse fuit alicui
 candidato data, sed quia sic
 oportuerit rectè collocata, &
 judicio populi digno in loco
 posita esse videatur. Cic.
Verr. 7. n. 35—37*

“ pleasure

“ pleasure from it ; so much I desire to make
 “ it appear, that it was not bestowed upon
 “ me by chance, or the necessity of being filled
 “ up ; but confided deservedly by the choice
 “ and discernment of my country.”

All the Roman governours were far from being of this character ; and Sicily, above all other provinces, experienced, as * Cicero some lines after reproaches Verres, that they were almost all of them like so many tyrants, who believed themselves only attended by the fasces and axes, and invested with the authority of the Roman empire, to exercise in their province an open robbery of the publick with impunity, and to break through all the barriers of justice and shame in such a manner, as no man's estate, life, house, or even honour, were safe against their violence.

Syracuse, from all we have seen of it, ought to appear like a theatre, on which many different and surprizing scenes have been exhibited ; or rather like a sea, sometimes calm and untroubled, but oftner violently agitated by winds and storms, always ready to overwhelm it entirely. We have seen in no other republick, such sudden, frequent, violent, and various revolutions : Sometimes enslaved by the most cruel tyrants, at others under the government of the wisest kings ; sometimes abandoned to the capricious will of a populace;

* Nunquam tibi venit in mentem, non tibi idcirco fasces & secures, & tantam imperii vim, tantamque ornamentorum omnium dignitatem datam ; ut earum rerum vi & auctoritate omnia repagula juris, pudoris, &

officii perfringeres ; ut omnium bona prædam tuam duceres ; nullius res tuta, nullius domus clausa, nullius vita septa, nullius pudicitia munita, contra tuam cupiditatem & audaciam posset esse. *Ibid.* n. 39.

without

without either yoke or bridle ; sometimes perfectly docile and submissive to the authority of laws, and the empire of reason, it passed alternately from the most insupportable slavery to the most grateful liberty ; from a kind of convulsions and frantick emotions, to a wise, peaceable, and regular conduct. The Reader will easily call to mind, on the one side, Dionysius, the father and son, Agathocles, and Hieronymus, whose cruelties made them the objects of the publick hatred and detestation ; on the other, Gelon, Dion, Timoleon, the two Hieros, antient and modern, universally beloved and revered by the people.

To what are such opposite extremes and vicissitudes so contrary to be attributed ? Undoubtedly, I think, the levity and inconstancy of the Syracusans, which was their distinguishing characteristick, had a great share in them : but what I am convinced conduced the most to them, was the very form of their government, compounded of the aristocratick and democratick, that is to say, divided between the senate or elders, and the people. As there was no counterpoise in Syracuse to support a right balance between those two bodies, when authority inclined either to the one side or the other, the government presently changed either into a violent and cruel tyranny, or an unbridled liberty, without order or regulation. The sudden confusion at such times of all orders of the state, made the way to the sovereign power easy to the most ambitious of the citizens : That power, to attract the affection of their country, and soften the yoke to their fellow-citizens, some exercised with lenity, wisdom, equity, and popular behaviour ; and others, by nature less virtu-

virtuously inclined, carried it to the last excess of the most absolute and cruel despotism ; under pretext of supporting themselves against the attempts of their citizens, who jealous of their liberty, thought every means for the recovery of it legitimate and laudable.

There were besides other reasons, that rendered the government of Syracuse difficult, and thereby made way for the frequent changes it underwent. That city did not forget the signal victories it had obtained against the formidable power of Africa, and that it had carried its victorious arms and terror even to the walls of Carthage ; and that not once only, as afterwards against the Athenians, but during several ages. The high idea its fleets and numerous troops suggested of its maritime power, at the time of the irruption of the Persians into Greece, occasioned its pretending to equal Athens in that respect, or at least to divide the empire of the sea with that state.

Besides which, riches, the natural effect of commerce, had rendered the Syracusans proud, haughty, and imperious, and at the same time had plunged them into a sloth and luxury, which inspired them with a disgust for all fatigue and application. They generally blindly abandoned themselves to their orators, who had gained an absolute ascendant over them. In order to make them obey, it was necessary either to flatter or reproach them.

They had naturally a fund of equity, humanity, and good nature, and yet influenced by the seditious discourses of the orators, they would proceed to excessive violence and cruelties, which immediately after they repented.

When

When they were left to themselves, their liberty, which at that time knew no bounds, soon degenerated into caprice, fury, violence, and I might say even phrenzy. On the contrary, when they were subjected to the yoke, they became base, timorous, submissive, and creeping like slaves. But as this condition was violent, and directly contrary to the character and disposition of the Greek nation, born and nurtured in liberty, the sense of which was not wholly extinguished in them, and only lulled asleep; they waked from time to time from their lethargy, broke their chains, and made use of them, if I may be admitted to use the expression, to beat down and destroy the unjust masters who had imposed them.

With a small attention to the whole series of the history of the Syracusans, it may easily be perceived, (as Galba afterwards said of the Romans) that * they were equally incapable of bearing either entire liberty or entire servitude. So that the ability and policy of those who governed them, consisted in keeping the people to a wise medium between the two extremes; in seeming to leave them an entire freedom in their resolutions, and reserving only to themselves the care of explaining the utility, and facilitating the execution, of good measures. And in this the magistrates and kings we have spoken of were wonderfully successful; under whose government the Syracusans always enjoyed peace

* Imperatorus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem. *Tacit. Hist.* l. 1. c. 16.

and tranquillity, were obedient to their princes, and perfectly submissive to the laws. Which induces me to conclude, that the revolutions of Syracuse were less the effect of the people's levity, than the fault of those that governed them ; who had not the art of managing their passions, and engaging their affections, which is properly the science of kings, and of all who command others.



THE

THE ONE AND TWENTH BOOK.

CONTINUATION

OF THE

History of the SUCCESSORS

OF

ALEXANDER the Great.

THIS book contains two articles, of which the first includes the history of Mithridates king of Pontus, and the second the reigns of Ptolomæus Auletes, and the famous Cleopatra, with which ends the antient history of the Greeks.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article includes the space of sixty years, which is three years more than the reign of Mithridates; from the year of the world 3880, to the year 3943.

VOL. X.

G 2

SECT.

S E C T. I.

Mithridates, at twelve years old, ascends the throne of Pontus. He seizes Cappadocia and Bitbynia, having first expelled their kings. The Romans re-establish them. He causes all the Romans in Asia minor to be put to the sword in one day. First war of the Romans with Mithridates, who had made himself master of Asia minor, and Greece, where he had taken Athens. Sylla is charged with this war. He besieges and retakes Athens. He gains three great battles against the generals of Mithridates. He grants that prince peace in the fourth year of the war. Library of Athens, in which were the works of Aristotle. Sylla causes it to be carried to Rome.

MITHRIDATES, king of Pontus, whose history we are now beginning, and who rendered himself so famous by the war he supported, during almost thirty years, against the Romans, was surnamed Eupator. He descended from a house, which had given a long succession of kings to the kingdom of Pontus. The first, according to some historians, was Artabafus, one of the seven princes that slew the Magi, and set the crown of Persia upon the head of Darius Hyftaspes, who rewarded him with the kingdom of Pontus. But, besides that, we do not find the name of Artabafus amongst those Persians, many reasons induce us to believe, that the prince of whom we speak, was the son of Darius, the same who is called Artabarzanes, who was competitor with Xerxes for the throne of Persia, and was made king of Pontus either by his father or his brother, to console

console him for the preference given to Xerxes. His posterity enjoyed that kingdom during seventeen generations. Mithridates Eupator, of whom we shall treat in this place, was the sixteenth from him.

He was but twelve years of age when he began to reign. His father, before his death, had appointed him his successor, and had given him his mother for guardian, who was to govern jointly with him. He began his reign by putting his mother and brother to death; and the sequel answered but too much to the commencement of it. Nothing is said of the first years of his reign, except that one of the Roman generals, whom he had corrupted with money, having surrendered Phrygia to him, and put him into possession of it, it was soon after taken from him by the Romans, which gave birth to his resentment against them.

Ariarathes king of Cappadocia being dead, Mithridates caused the two sons he had left behind him to be put to death, though their mother Laodice was his own sister, and placed one of his own sons, at that time very young, upon the throne, giving him the name of Ariarathes, and appointing Gordius his guardian and regent. Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who apprehended this increase of power would put Mithridates into a condition to possess himself also of his dominions in time, thought proper to set up a certain young man (who seemed very fit for such a part) as a third son of Ariarathes. He engaged Laodice, whom he had espoused after the death of her first husband, to acknowledge him as such, and sent her to Rome, to assist and support by her presence the claim of this pretended son, whom she carried thither along with her. The cause being brought be-

A. M.

3880.

Ant. J. C.

124.

Memnon

in Excerptis

Photii,

c. 32.

Appian. in

Mithrid.

p. 177, 178.

A. M.

3913.

Ant. J. C.

91.

fore the senate, both parties were condemned, and a decree passed, by which the Cappadocians were declared free. But they said they could not be without a king. The senate permitted them to chuse whom they thought fit. They elected Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of their nation. Sylla, upon his quitting the office of prætor, was charged with the commission of establishing him upon the throne. That was the pretext for this expedition; but the real motive of it was, to check the enterprizes of Mithridates, whose power daily augmenting, gave umbrage to the Romans. Sylla executed his commission the following year; and after having defeated a great number of Cappadocians, and a much greater of Armenians, who came to their aid, he expelled Gordius, with the pretended Ariarathes, and set Ariobarzanes in his place.

A. M.

3914.

Ant. J. C.

90.

Whilst Sylla was encamped upon the banks of the Euphrates, a Parthian, named Orobasus, arrived at his camp from king Arsaces *, to demand the alliance and amity of the Romans. Sylla, in receiving him at his audience, caused three seats to be placed in his tent, one for Ariobarzanes, who was present, another for Orobasus, and that in the midst for himself. The Parthian king afterwards, offended at his deputy, for having acquiesced to this instance of the Roman pride, caused him to be put to death. This is the first time the Parthians had any commerce with the Romans.

Mithridates did not dare at that time to oppose the establishment of Ariobarzanes; but dissembling the mortification that conduct of the Romans gave him, he resolved to take an

* It was from Mithridates II.

opportunity of being revenged upon them. In the mean while, he applied himself to cultivating good alliances, for the augmentation of his strength ; and began with Tigranes king of Armenia, a very powerful prince. Armenia Strab. l. 11 had at first appertained to the Persians ; it came p. 531, 532 under the Macedonians afterwards, and upon the death of Alexander, made part of the kingdom of Syria. Under Antiochus the great, two of his generals, Artaxius and Zadriadres, with that prince's permission, established themselves in this province, of which it is probable they were before governours. After the defeat of Antiochus they adhered to the Romans, who acknowledged them as kings. They had divided Armenia into two parts ; Tigranes, of whom we now speak, descended from Artaxius. He possessed himself of all Armenia, subjected several neighbouring countries by his arms, and thereby formed a very powerful kingdom. Mithridates gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and engaged him to enter so far into his project against the Romans, that they agreed, Mithridates should have the cities and countries they should conquer for his share, and Tigranes the people, with all the effects capable of being carried away.

Their first enterprize and act of hostility A. M. was committed by Tigranes, who deprived Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, of which the Romans had put him into possession, and re-established Ariarathes, the son of Mithridates, in it. 3915- Ant. J. C. 89. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, happened to die about this time : his eldest son, called also Nicomedes, ought naturally to have succeeded him, and was accordingly proclaimed king. But Mithridates set up his younger brother Socrates against him, who deprived him

him of the throne by force of arms. The two dethroned kings went to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who decreed their re-establishment, and sent Manius Aquilius and M. Altinius to put that decree in execution.

They were both reinstated. The Romans advised them to make irruptions into the lands of Mithridates, promising them their support ; but neither the one nor the other dared to attack so powerful a prince so near home. At length, however, Nicomedes, at the joint instances of the ambassadors, to whom he had promised great sums for his re-establishment, and of his creditors, Roman citizens settled in Asia, who had lent him very considerably for the same effect, could no longer resist their solicitations. He made incursions upon the lands of Mithridates, ravaged all the flat country as far as the city Amastris, and returned home laden with booty, which he applied in discharging part of his debts.

Mithridates was not ignorant by whose advice he had committed this irruption. He might easily have repulsed him, having a great number of good troops on foot : but he did not make any motion. He was glad to place the wrong on the side of the Romans, and to have a just cause for declaring war against them. He began by making remonstrances to their generals and ambassadors. Pelopidas was at the head of this embassy. He complained of the various contraventions of the Romans to the treaty of alliance subsisting between them and Mithridates, and in particular, of the protection granted by them to Nicomedes, his declared enemy. The ambassadors of the latter replied ; and complained, on their side, of Mithridates. The Romans, who were unwilling

ling to declare themselves openly at present, gave them an answer in loose and general terms; that the Roman people had no intention that Mithridates and Nicomedes should injure each other.

Mithridates, who was not satisfied with this answer, made his troops march immediately into Cappadocia, expelled Ariobarzanes again, and set his son Ariarathes upon the throne, as he had done before. At the same time, he sent his ambassadors to the Roman generals to make his apology, and to complain of them again. Pelopidas declared to them, that his master was contented the Roman people should judge in the affair; and added, that he had already sent his ambassadors to Rome. He exhorted them not to undertake any thing, till they had received the senate's orders; nor engage rashly in a war, that might be attended with fatal consequences. For the rest, he gave them to understand, that Mithridates, in case justice were refused him, was in a condition to right himself. The Romans, highly offended at so haughty a declaration, made answer; that Mithridates had immediately to withdraw his troops from Cappadocia, and not continue to disturb Nicomedes or Ariobarzanes. They ordered Pelopidas to quit the camp that moment, and not return, unless his master obeyed. The other ambassadors were no better received at Rome.

The rupture was then inevitable, and the Roman generals did not wait till the orders of the senate and people arrived: which was what Mithridates had demanded. The design he had long formed of declaring war against the Romans, had occasioned his having made many alliances, and engaged many nations in his interests. Twenty-two languages, of as many
different

different people, were reckoned amongst his troops, all which Mithridates himself spoke with facility. His army consisted of two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and forty thousand horse ; without including an hundred and thirty armed chariots, and a fleet of four hundred ships.

Justin. 1. Before he proceeded to action, he thought it
38. c. 3— necessary to prepare his troops for it, and made
7. them a * long discourse to animate them against the Romans. “ He represented to them, that
“ there was no room to examine whether war
“ or peace were to be preferred ; that the Ro-
“ mans, by attacking them first, had spared
“ them that deliberation : That their business
“ was to fight and conquer : That he assured
“ himself of success, if the troops persisted to
“ act with the same valour they had already
“ shewed upon so many occasions, and lately
“ against the same enemies, whom they had
“ put to flight, and cut to pieces in Bithynia
“ and Cappadocia : That there could not be a
“ more favourable opportunity than the present,
“ when the Marfi infested and ravaged the
“ heart itself of Italy ; when Rome was torn
“ in pieces by civil wars, and an innumerable
“ army of the Cimbri from Germany over-
“ ran all Italy : That the time was come for
“ humbling those proud Republicans ; who
“ had the same view with regard to the royal
“ dignity, and had sworn to pull down all
“ the thrones of the universe : That for the

* I have abridged this discourse extremely, which Justin repeats at length, as it stood in Trogus Pompeius, of whom he is only the epitomi-

ser. The discourse is a specimen of that excellent historian's style, and ought to make us very much regret the loss of his writings.

“ rest,

“ rest *, the war his soldiers were now entering
 “ into, was highly different from that they
 “ had sustained with so much valour in the
 “ horrid deserts, and frozen regions of Scy-
 “ thia : That he should lead them into the
 “ most fruitful and temperate country of the
 “ world, abounding with rich and opulent
 “ cities, which seemed to offer themselves an
 “ easy prey : That Asia, abandoned to be de-
 “ voured by the insatiable avarice of the pro-
 “ consuls, the inexorable cruelty of tax-
 “ farmers, and the crying injustice of corrupt
 “ judges, had the name of Roman in horror,
 “ and expected them as her deliverers : That
 “ they followed him not so much to a war, as
 “ to assured victory and certain spoils.” The
 army answered this discourse with universal
 shouts of joy, and reiterated protestations of
 service and fidelity.

The Romans had formed three armies out
 of their troops in the several parts of Asia mi-
 nor. The first was commanded by Cassius,
 who had the government of the province of
 Pergamus ; the second by Manius Aquilius ;
 the third by Q. Oppius proconsul, in the pro-

* Nunc se diversam belli
 conditionem ingredi: Nam
 neque cœlo Asiæ esse tempe-
 ratius aliud, nec solo fertili-
 us, nec urbium multitudine
 amœnius ; magnamque tem-
 poris partem, non ut militi-
 am, sed ut festam diem, ac-
 turos, bello dubium facili
 magis an uberi – tantumque
 se avida expectat Asia, ut
 etiam vocibus vocet: adeo
 illis odium Romanorum in-
 cussit rapacitas proconsulum,
 sectio publicanorum, calum-

niæ litium. *Justin.*

*Sectio publicanorum pro-
 perly signifies the forcible sale
 of their goods, who for default
 of payment of taxes and im-
 posts, had their moveables and
 effects seized on and sold by the
 publicans. Calumniæ litium
 are the unjust quirks and chi-
 canery, which served as pre-
 texts for depriving the rich of
 their estates and effects, either
 upon account of taxes, or un-
 der some other colour.*

vince

vince of Pamphylia. Each of them had forty thousand men, including the cavalry. Besides these troops, Nicomedes had fifty thousand foot, and six thousand horse. They began the war, as I have already observed, without waiting orders from Rome, and carried it on with so much negligence, and so little conduct, that they were all three overthrown in different encounters, and their armies ruined. Aquilius and Oppius themselves were taken prisoners, and treated with all kind of insults. Mithridates, considering Aquilius as the principal author of the war, treated him with the highest indignities. He made him pass in review before the troops, and presented him as a sight to the people mounted on an ass, obliging him to cry out with a loud voice, that he was Manius Aquilius. At other times he obliged him to walk on foot with his hands fastned by a chain to a horse, that drew him along. At last he made him swallow molten lead, and put him to death with the most exquisite torments. The people of Mitylene had treacherously delivered him up to Mithridates, at a time when he was sick, and had withdrawn from amongst them for the recovery of his health.

Mithridates, who was desirous of gaining the peoples hearts by his reputation for clemency, sent home all the Greeks he had made prisoners, and supplied them with provisions for their journey. That instance of his goodness and lenity opened the gates of all the cities to him. The people came out to meet him every where with acclamations of joy. They gave him excessive praises. They called him the preserver, the father of the people, the deliverer of Asia; with all the other names ascribed to Bacchus, to which he had a just title, for he passed
for

for the prince of his times, who could drink most without being disordered ; a quality he boasted of, and which he thought much to his honour.

The fruits of his first victories were the conquest of all Bithynia, from which Nicomedes was driven ; of Phrygia and Mysia, lately made Roman provinces ; of Lycia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and several other countries.

Having found at Stratonicea a young maid of exquisite beauty, named Monima, he took her along with him in his train.

Mithridates, considering that the Romans, and all the Italians in general, at that time in Asia minor upon different affairs, carried on intrigues underhand, much to the prejudice of his interests, he sent secret orders from Ephesus, where he then was, to the governours of the provinces, and magistrates of the cities of Asia minor, to massacre them all upon a day fixed *. The women, children, and domesticks, were included in this proscription. To these orders was annexed a prohibition, to give interment to those who should be killed. Their estates and effects were to be confiscated for the use of the king, and the murtherers. A severe fine was laid upon such as should conceal the living, or bury the dead ; and a reward for whoever discovered those that were hid. Liberty was given to the slaves, who killed their masters ; and debtors forgiven half their debts, for killing their creditors. The repetition only of this horrid order, is enough to make one tremble with horror. What then must have been the

* Is uno die, tota Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio, atque una literarum signifi-

catione, cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit. Cic.

desolation in all those provinces when it was executed ! Four-score thousand Romans and Italians were butchered in consequence of it. Some make the slain amount to almost twice that number.

Being informed that there was a great treasure at Cos, he sent thither to seize it. Cleopatra queen of Egypt had deposited it there, when she undertook the war in Phœnicia against her son Lathyrus. Besides this treasure, they found eight hundred talents, (eight hundred thousand crowns) which the Jews in Asia minor had deposited there, when they saw the war ready to break out.

All those, who had found means to escape this general slaughter in Asia, had taken refuge in Rhodes, which received them with joy, and afforded them a secure retreat. Mithridates laid siege to that city ineffectually, which he was soon obliged to raise, after having been in danger of being taken himself in a sea-fight, wherein he lost many of his ships.

When he had made himself master of Asia minor, Mithridates sent Archelaus, one of his generals, with an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men into Greece. That general took Athens, and chose it for his residence ; giving all orders from thence, in regard to the war on that side. During his stay there, he engaged most of the cities and states of Greece in the interests of his master. He reduced Delos by force; which had revolted from the Athenians, and reinstated them in the possession of it. He sent them the sacred treasure, kept in that island by Aristion, to whom he gave two thousand men as a guard for the money. Aristion was an Athenian philosopher, of the sect of Epicurus. He made use of the two
thousand

thousand men under his command to seize all authority at Athens, where he exercised a most cruel tyranny, putting many of the citizens to death, and sending many to Mithridates, upon pretence that they were of the Roman faction.

Such was the state of affairs, when Sylla was charged with the war against Mithridates. He set out immediately for Greece with five legions, and some cohorts and cavalry. Mithridates was at that time at Pergamus, where he distributed riches, governments, and other rewards to his friends.

Upon Sylla's arrival, all the cities opened their gates to him, except Athens, which, subjected to the tyrant Ariston's yoke, was obliged, unwillingly, to oppose him. The Roman general, having entered Attica, divided his troops into two bodies; the one of which he sent to besiege Ariston in the city of Athens, and with the other he marched in person to the port Piræus; which made a kind of second city, where Archelaus had shut himself up; relying upon the strength of the place, the walls being almost sixty feet high, and entirely of hewn stone. The work was indeed very strong, and had been raised by the order of Pericles in the Peloponnesian war; when the hopes of victory depending solely upon this port, he had fortified it to the utmost of his power.

The height of the walls did not amaze Sylla. He employed all sorts of engines in battering it, and made continual assaults. If he would have waited a little, he might have taken the higher city without striking a blow, which was reduced by famine to the last extremity. But, being in haste to return to Rome, and apprehending the changes that might happen there in his absence, he spared neither danger, fighting

fighting nor expence, in order to hasten the conclusion of that war. Without enumerating the rest of the warlike stores and equipage, twenty thousand mules were perpetually employed in working the machines only. Wood happening to fall short, from the great consumption made of it in the machines, which were often either broke and spoiled by the vast weight they carried, or burnt by the enemy, he did not spare the sacred groves. He cut down the trees in the walks of the Academy and Lycæum, which were the finest and best planted in the suburbs, and caused the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demolished, in order to apply the ruins in raising his works, and carrying on his approaches.

As he had occasion for abundance of money in this war, and desired to attach the soldiers to his interests, and to animate them by great rewards, he had recourse to the inviolable treasures of the temples, and caused the finest and most precious gifts, consecrated at Epidaurus and Olympia, to be brought from thence. He wrote to the Amphictyons, assembled at Delphos; "That they would act wisely in sending him the treasures of the god; because they would be more secure in his hands; and that if he should be obliged to make use of them, he would return the value after the war." At the same time he sent one of his friends, named Caphis, a native of Phocis, to Delphos, to receive all those treasures by weight.

When Caphis arrived at Delphos, he was afraid, out of reverence for the god, to meddle with the gifts consecrated to him, and wept in the presence of the Amphictyons, the necessity imposed upon him. Upon which, some person there

there having said, that he heard the sound of Apollo's lyre from the inside of the sanctuary, Caphis, whether he really believed it, or was for taking that occasion to put Sylla into a religious fear, he wrote him an account of what had happened: Sylla, deriding his simplicity, replied, "That he was surprized he should not comprehend, that singing was a token of joy, and by no means a sign of anger and resentment; that therefore he had nothing to do but to take the treasures, and be assured, that the god saw him do so with pleasure, and gave them to him himself."

Plutarch, on this occasion, observes upon the difference between the ancient Roman generals, and those of the times we now speak of. The former, whom merit alone had raised to office, and who had no views from employments but the publick good, knew how to make the soldiers respect and obey them, without descending to use low and unworthy means for that purpose. They commanded troops, that were wise, disciplined, and well instructed to execute the orders of their generals without reply or delay. Truly kings, says Plutarch *, in the grandeur and nobility of their sentiments, but simple and modest particulars in their train and equipage; they put the state to no other expence in the discharge of their offices, than what was reasonable and necessary; conceiving it more shameful in a captain to flatter his soldiers, than to fear his enemies. Things were much changed in the times we now speak of. The Roman generals, abandoned to insatiable ambition and luxury, were obliged to make themselves slaves

* *Αὐτοὶ τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς βασιλεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς ὑποτακτοὶ*

to their soldiers, and to buy their services by gifts proportioned to their avidity, and often by the toleration and impunity of the greatest crimes.

Sylla, in consequence, was perpetually in extreme want of money to satisfy his troops, and then more than ever for carrying on the siege he had engaged in ; the success of which seemed to him of the highest importance, both as to his honour and safety. He was for depriving Mithridates of the only city he had left in Greece ; and which, by preventing the Romans from passing into Asia, made all hopes of conquering that prince vain, and would oblige Sylla to return shamefully into Italy, where he would have found other more terrible enemies in Marius and his faction. He was besides sensibly galled by the offensive raillery Aristion vented every day against himself and his wife Metella.

It is not easy to say whether the attack or defence were conducted with most vigour ; for both sides behaved with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended with almost formal battles, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally not very unequal. The besieged would not have been in a condition to have made so vigorous a defence, if they had not received several considerable reinforcements by sea.

What hurt them most, was the secret treachery of two Athenian slaves, that were in the Piræum. Those slaves, whether out of affection to the Roman party, or desirous of providing for their own safety, in case the place were taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that passed within, and threw them with slings to the Romans. So that whatever wise measures

Archelaus

Archelaus took, who defended the Piræum, whilst Ariftion commanded in the city, nothing fucceeded. He refolved to make a general falley; the traitors flung a leaden ball with this intelligence upon it: *To morrow, at fuch an hour, the foot will attack your works, and the horfe your camp.* Sylla laid ambufhes, and repulfed the befieged with lofs. A convoy of provifions was in the night to have been thrown into the city that was in want of all things. Upon advice of the fame kind the convoy was intercepted.

Notwithstanding all thefe difadvantages, the Athenians defended themfelves like lions. They found means to burn moft of the machines erected againft the walls; or paffing by mines, and hollowing the earth under them, they threw them down and broke them to pieces.

The Romans, on their fide, behaved with no lefs vigour. By the help of mines alfo they made a way to the bottom of the walls, under which they hollowed the ground, and having propt the foundations with beams of wood, they afterwards fet fire to the props, adding great quantity of pitch, fulphur, and tow. When thofe beams were burnt, part of the wall fell down with an horrible noife, and a large breach was opened, through which the Romans advanced to the affault. The battle continued a great while with equal ardour on both fides, but the Romans at length were obliged to retire. The next day they renewed the attack. The befieged had built a new wall, during the night, in the form of a crefcent, in the place where the other had fallen, and the Romans found it impoffible to force it.

Sylla, repulsed by so obstinate a defence, resolved to attack the Piræum no longer, and confined himself to reduce the place by famine. The city, on the other side, was at the last extremity. A bushel of barley had been sold in it for a thousand drachmas (or five hundred livres.) The inhabitants did not only eat the grass and roots, which they found about the citadel, but the flesh of horses, and the leather of shoes, which they boiled soft. In the midst of the publick misery, the tyrant passed his days and nights in debauch. The senators and priests went to throw themselves at his feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to obtain a capitulation from Sylla; he dispersed them with arrow-shot, and in that manner drove them from his presence.

He did not demand a cessation of arms, nor send deputies to Sylla, till reduced to the last extremity. As those deputies made no proposals, and demanded nothing of him to the purpose, but ran on in praising and extolling Theseus, Eumolpus, and the exploits of the Athenians against the Medes, Sylla was tired with their discourse, and interrupted them, by saying, "Gentlemen haranguers, you may go back again, and keep your rhetorical flourishes for yourselves. For my part, I was not sent to Athens to be informed of your antient prowess, but to chastise your modern revolt."

During this audience, spies having entered the city, they overheard by chance some old men talking of the quarter called * Ceramica, and blaming the tyrant exceedingly for not guarding a certain part of the wall, that was the

* *The publick place at Athens.*

only place, by which the enemy might easily scale the city. At their return into the camp, they related what they had heard to Sylla. The parley had been to no purpose. Sylla did not neglect the intelligence given him. The next night he went in person to take a view of the place, and finding the wall actually accessible, he ordered ladders to be raised against it, began the attack there, and having made himself master of the wall after a weak resistance, entered the city. He would not suffer it to be set on fire, but abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers, who in several houses found human flesh, which had been dressed to be eaten. A dreadful slaughter ensued. The next day all the slaves were sold by auction, and liberty was granted to the citizens who had escaped the swords of the soldiers: those were a very small number. He besieged the citadel the same day, where Aristion, and those who had taken refuge there, were soon so much reduced by hunger and thirst, that they were forced to surrender themselves. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any office under him, were put to death.

Some few days after, Sylla made himself master of the Piræum, and burnt all its fortifications; especially the arsenal, which had been built by Philo, the celebrated architect, and was a wonderful fabrick. Archelaus, by the help of his fleet, had retired to Munichia, another port of Attica.

This year was fatal to the arms of Mithridates. Taxilus one of his generals arrived in Greece from Thrace and Macedonia, with an army of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with fourscore and ten chariots armed with scythes. Archelaus, that general's

brother, was at that time in the port of Muni-
chia, and would neither remove from the sea,
nor come to a battle with the Romans ; but
he endeavoured to protract the war, and cut off
their provisions. This was very wise conduct,
for Sylla began to be in want of them ; so that
famine obliged him to quit Attica, and to enter
the fruitful plains of Boeotia, where Hortensius
joined him. Their troops being united, they
took possession of a fertile eminence in the
midst of the plains of Elatea, at the foot of
which ran a rivulet. When they had formed
their camp, the enemies could discover at a view
their small number : which amounted to only
fifteen thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse.
This induced Archelaus's generals to press him
in the warmest manner to proceed to action.
They did not obtain his consent without great
difficulty. They immediately began to move,
and covered the whole plain with horses, cha-
riots, and their innumerable troops. For when
the two brothers were joined, their army might
be called so. The noise and cries of so many
nations, and so many thousands of men pre-
paring for battle ; the pomp and magnificence
of their array, all was terrible to behold. The
lustre of their armour, magnificently adorned
with gold and silver, and the lively colours of
the Median and Scythian coats of arms, ming-
led with the glitter of brass and steel, reflected
rays, which whilst they dazzled the sight, filled
the soul with terror.

The Romans, seized with dread, kept close
within their entrenchments. Sylla, not being
able by his discourse and remonstrances to re-
move their fear, and not being willing to force
them to fight in the universal discouragement
they then were, was obliged to lie still, and
suffer,

suffer, though with great impatience, the bravadoes and insulting derision of the Barbarians. They conceived so great a contempt for him in consequence, that they observed no discipline any longer. Few of them kept within their entrenchments: the rest, for the sake of plunder, dispersed in great troops, and removed considerably, even several days journey, from the camp. They plundered and ruined some cities in the neighbourhood.

Sylla was in the last despair, when he saw the allies cities destroyed in his view, for want of power to make his army fight. He at last thought of a stratagem; which was to give the troops no repose, and to keep them incessantly at work in turning the little river Cephissus, which was near his camp, and in digging deep and large fosse's, under pretence of their better security; but in effect, that when they should be tired of such great fatigues, they might prefer the hazard of a battle to the continuance of their labour. His stratagem was successful. After having worked without intermission three days; as Sylla, according to custom, was taking a view of their progress, they cried out to him with one voice to lead them on against the enemy. Sylla suffered himself to be exceedingly entreated, and did not comply for some time: but when he saw their ardour encrease from his opposition, he made them stand to their arms, and marched against the enemy.

The battle was fought near Cheronæa. The enemy had possessed themselves with a great body of troops of a very advantageous post, called Thurium; it was the ridge of a steep mountain, which extended itself upon the left flank of the Romans, and was very proper

to check their motions. Two men of Cheronæa came to Sylla, and promised him to drive the enemy from this post, if he would give them a small number of chosen troops; which he did. In the mean time he drew up his army in battle, divided his horse in the two wings, taking the right himself, and giving the left to Murena. Galba and Hortensius formed a second line. Hortensius, on the left of it, supported Murena, whilst Galba, on the right, did the same for Sylla. The Barbarians had already begun to extend their horse, and light-armed foot, taking in a large compass, with design to surround the second line, and charge them in the rear.

At this instant the two men of Cheronæa, having gained the top of Thurium with their small troop, without being perceived by the enemy, shewed themselves on a sudden. The Barbarians, surprized and terrified, immediately took to flight. Pressing against each other upon the declivity of the mountain, they ran precipitately down it before the enemy, who fell upon them, and pursued them with their swords at their backs; so that about three thousand men were killed upon the mountain. Of those that escaped, some fell into the hands of Murena, who had just before formed himself in battle. Having marched against them, he cut off their way, and made a great slaughter of them: the rest, who endeavoured to regain their camp, fell in upon the main body of their troops with so much disorder, that they threw the whole army into terror and confusion, and made their generals lose much time in re-instating them, which was one of the principal causes of their defeat.

Sylla, taking advantage of this disorder, marched against them so warmly, that having cleared the ground between the two armies with extreme rapidity, he prevented the effect of their chariots armed with scythes. The force of these chariots depended upon the length of their course, which gave impetuosity and violence to their motion; instead of which, a short space that did not leave room for their carrier, rendered them useless and ineffectual. This the Barbarians experienced at this time. The first chariots came on so slowly, and with so little effect, that the Romans easily pushing them back, with great noise and loud laughter called for others, as was customary at Rome in the chariot-races of the Circus.

After those chariots were removed, the two armies joined battle. The Barbarians presented their long pikes, and kept close order with their bucklers joined, so that they could not be broke; and the Romans threw down their javelins, and with sword in hand, removed the enemy's pikes, in order to join and charge them with great fury. What encreased their animosity, was the sight of fifteen thousand slaves, whom the king's generals had spirited from them by the promise of their liberty, and placed with the heavy-armed foot. Those slaves had so much resolution and bravery, that they sustained the shock of the Roman foot without giving way. Their battle was so deep and so well closed, that the Romans could neither break nor move them, till the light-armed foot of the second line had put them into disorder, by the discharge of their arrows, and an hail of stones from their slings, which forced them to give ground.

Archelaus

Archelaus having made his right wing advance to surround the left of the Romans, Hortensius led on the troops under his command to take him in flank. Which Archelaus seeing, he ordered two thousand horse to wheel about. Hortensius, upon the point of being overpowered by that great body of horse, retired by little and little towards the mountains, perceiving himself too far from the main body, and almost surrounded by the enemy. Sylla, with part of his right wing, that had not yet engaged, marched to his relief. From the dust raised by those troops, Archelaus judged who it was, and leaving Hortensius, he turned about towards the place Sylla had quitted, in hopes he should find no difficulty in defeating the right wing without its general.

Cbalcaspi-
des. Taxilus, at the same time, led on his foot, armed with brazen shields, against Murena; whilst each side raised great cries, which made the neighbouring hills resound. Sylla halted on that noise, not knowing well to which side he should hasten. At length, he thought it most expedient to return to his former post, and support his right wing. He therefore sent Hortensius to assist Murena with four cohorts, and taking the fifth with him, he flew to his right wing, which he found engaged in battle with Archelaus, neither having the advantage. But as soon as he appeared, that wing taking new courage from the presence of their general, opened their way through the troops of Archelaus, put them to flight, and pursued them vigorously for a considerable time.

After this great success, without losing a moment, he marched to the aid of Murena. Finding that he was also victorious on his side, and had defeated Taxilus, he joined him in

the pursuit of the vanquished. A great number of the Barbarians were killed in the plain, and a much greater cut to pieces, in endeavouring to gain their camp ; so that, of many thousand men, only ten thousand escaped, who fled to the city of Chalcis. Sylla wrote in his memoirs, that only fourteen of his men were missing, and that two of them returned the same evening.

To celebrate so great a victory, he gave A. M. the musick games at Thebes, and caused judges 3919. to come from the neighbouring Grecian cities Ant. J. C. to distribute the prizes ; for he had an implacable aversion for the Thebans. He even deprived them of half their territory, which he consecrated to Apollo Pythius, and Jupiter Olympius, and decreed that the money he had taken out of the temples of those gods, should be repaid out of their revenues.

These games were no sooner over, than he received advice, that L. Valerius Flaccus of the adverse party (for at this time the divisions between Marius and Sylla were at the highest) had been elected consul, and already crossed the Ionian sea with an army, in appearance against Mithridates, but in reality against himself. For this reason he began his march to Theffaly, as with design to meet him. But being arrived at the city of Melitea, news In Theff. came to him from all sides, that all the places Saly. he had left in his rear were plundered by another of the king's armies, stronger and more numerous than the first. For Dorylaus was arrived at Chalcis with a great fleet, on board of which were fourscore thousand men, the best equipped, the most warlike and disciplined of all Mithridates's troops, and had thrown himself into Boeotia, and seized upon the whole country

country in order to bring Sylla to a battle. Archelaus would have diverted him from that design, by giving him an exact account of the battle he had lately lost; but his counsel and remonstrances were to no purpose. He soon knew, that the advice he had given him, was highly reasonable and judicious.

He chose the plain of Orchomenus for the field of battle. Sylla caused fosse's to be dug on each side of the plain, to deprive the enemy of the advantage of an open country, and to remove them towards the marshes. The Barbarians fell furiously on the workmen, dispersed them, and put to flight the troops that supported them. Sylla, seeing his army flying in this manner, quitted his horse immediately, and seizing one of his ensigns, he pushed forwards towards the enemy through those that fled, crying to them, *For me, Romans, I think it glorious to die here. But for you, when you shall be asked where you abandoned your general, remember to say it was at Orchomenus.* They could not suffer those reproaches, and returned to the charge with such fury, that they made Archelaus's troops turn their backs. The Barbarians came on again in better order than before, and were again repulsed with greater loss.

The next day, at sun-rise, Sylla led back his troops towards the enemy's camp, to continue his trenches, and falling upon those who were detached to skirmish and drive away the workmen, he charged them so rudely, that he put them to flight. These threw the troops, who had continued in the camp, into such terror, that they were afraid to stay to defend it. Sylla entered it pell-mell with those that fled, and made himself master of it. The marshes,

in

in a moment, were dyed with blood, and the lake filled with dead bodies. The enemies, in different attacks, lost the greatest part of their troops. Archelaus continued a great while hid in the marshes, and escaped at last to Chalcis.

The news of all these defeats threw Mithridates into great consternation. However, as that prince was by nature fruitful in resources, he did not lose courage, and applied himself in repairing his losses, by making new levies. But from the fear, that his ill success might give birth to some revolt or conspiracy against his person, as had already happened, he took the bloody precaution of putting all he suspected to death, without sparing even his best friends.

He was himself no happier in Asia, than his generals had been in Greece. Fimbria, who commanded a Roman army there, beat the remainder of his best troops. He pursued the vanquished as far as the gates of Pergamus, where Mithridates resided, and obliged him to quit that place himself, and retire to Pitane, a maritime place of Troas. Fimbria pursued him thither, and invested him by land. But as he had no fleet to do the same by sea, he sent to Lucullus, who cruized in the neighbouring seas with the Roman fleet, and represented to him, that he might acquire immortal glory, by seizing the person of Mithridates, who could not escape him, and by putting an end to so important a war. Fimbria and Lucullus were of two different factions. The latter would not be concerned in the affairs of the other. So that Mithridates escaped by sea to Mitylene, and extricated himself out of the hands of the Romans. This fault cost them very dear, and is not extraordinary in states, where misunderstandings
subsist

subsist between the ministers and the generals of the army ; which make them neglect the publick good, least they should contribute to the glory of their rivals.

Lucullus afterwards beat Mithridates's fleet twice, and gained two great victories over him. This happy success was the more surprizing, as it was not expected from Lucullus to distinguish himself by military exploits. He had passed his youth in the studies of the bar, and during his being quæstor in Asia, the province had always enjoyed peace. But so happy a genius as his, did not want to be taught by experience ; which is not to be acquired by lessons, and generally costs many years application *. He supplied that defect in some measure, by employing the whole time of his journeys by land and sea, partly in asking questions of persons experienced in the art of war, and partly in instructing himself by the reading of history. So that he arrived in Asia a compleat general, who had left Rome with only a moderate knowledge in the art of war. Let young warriors consider this with due attention ; and observe in what manner the Great form themselves.

* Ad Mithridaticum bellum missus a senatu, non modo opinionem vicit omnium quæ de virtute ejus erat, sed etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque eo fuit mirabilius, quod ab eo laus imperatoria non expectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi opera, quæsturæ diuturnum tempus, Murena bellum in Ponto gerente, in Asiæ pace consumpsérat. Sed

incredibilis quædam ingenii magnitudo non desideravit indocilem usûs disciplinam. Itaque cum totum iter & navigationem consumpsisset, partim in percontando a peritis, partim in rebus gestis legendis ; in Asiam factus imperator venit, cum esset Roma profectus rei militaris rudis. *Cic. Academ. Quæst.* l. 4. n. 2.

Whilst

Whilst Sylla obtained great advantages in Greece, the faction that opposed him, and at that time engrossed all power at Rome, had declared him an enemy of the republick. Cinna and Carbo treated the noblest and most considerable persons with every kind of cruelty and injustice. Most of these, to avoid this insupportable tyranny, had chose to retire to Sylla's camp, as to a port of safety ; so that in a small time Sylla had a little senate about him. His wife Metella, having escaped with great difficulty with her children, came to him with an account, that his enemies had burnt his house, and ruined his lands ; and begged him to depart immediately to the relief of those, who remained in Rome, and were upon the point of being made victims of the same fury.

Sylla was in the greatest perplexity. On the one side, the miserable condition, to which his country was reduced, inclined him to march directly to its relief ; on the other, he could not resolve to leave imperfect so great and important an affair as the war with Mithridates. Whilst he was under this cruel dilemma, a merchant came to him, to treat with him in secret from general Archelaus, and to make him some proposals of an accommodation. He was so exceedingly rejoiced, when this man had explained his commission, that he made all possible haste to have a conference with that general.

They had an interview upon the banks of the sea, near the little city of Delium. Archelaus, who did not know how important it was to Sylla, to have it in his power to repass into Italy, proposed to him the uniting his interests with those of Mithridates ; and added, that his
master

master would supply him with money, troops, and ships, for a war against Cinna's and Marius's party.

Sylla, without seeming offended at first with such proposals, exhorted him, on his side, to withdraw himself from the servitude, in which he lived, under an imperious and cruel prince. He added, that he might take upon him the title of king in his government, and offered to have him declared the ally and friend of the Roman people, if he would deliver up to him Mithridates's fleet under his command. Archelaus rejected that proposal with indignation, and even expressed to the Roman general, how much he thought himself injured by the supposition of his being capable of such a treason. Upon which Sylla, assuming the air of grandeur and dignity, so natural to the Romans, said to him : “ If being only a slave, “ and at best but an officer of a Barbarian “ king, you look upon it as a baseness to “ quit the service of your master, how dared “ you propose the abandoning the interests of “ the republick to such a Roman as me ? Do “ you imagine our conditions and affairs to be “ equal ? Have you forgot my victories ? Do “ you not remember, you are the same Arche- “ laus, I have defeated in two battles, and “ forced in the last to hide himself in the “ marshes of Orchomenus ? ”

Archelaus, confounded by so haughty an answer, sustained himself no longer in the sequel of the negotiation. Sylla got the ascendant entirely, and dictating the law as victor, he proposed the following conditions : “ That “ Mithridates should renounce Asia and Paph- “ lagonia : That he should restore Bithynia to “ Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarza-
nes :

“ nes: That he should pay the Romans two
 “ thousand talents (six millions) for the ex-
 “ pences of the war, and seventy armed gal-
 “ leys, with their whole equipage; and that
 “ Sylla, on his side, should secure to Mithri-
 “ dates the rest of his dominions, and cause
 “ him to be declared the friend and ally of
 “ the Roman people.” Archelaus seemed to
 approve those conditions; and dispatched a
 courier immediately to communicate them to
 Mithridates. Sylla set out for the Hellespont,
 carrying Archelaus with him, whom he treated
 with great honours.

He received Mithridates's ambassadors at La-
 rissa, who came to declare to him, that their
 master accepted and ratified all the other arti-
 cles, but that he desired he would not deprive
 him of Paphlagonia; and that as to the seventy
 galleys, he could by no means comply with
 that article. Sylla, offended at this refusal,
 answered them in an angry tone: “ What say
 “ you? Would Mithridates keep possession of
 “ Paphlagonia, and does he refuse me the
 “ galleys I demanded? I expected to have
 “ seen him return me thanks upon his knees,
 “ for having only left him the hand with
 “ which he butchered an hundred thousand Ro-
 “ mans. He will change his note, when I go
 “ over to Asia; though at present, in the midst
 “ of his court at Pergamus, he meditates plans
 “ for a war he never saw.” Such was the
 lofty stile of Sylla, who gave Mithridates to
 understand at the same time, that he would not
 talk such language, had he been present in the
 past battles.

The ambassadors, terrified with this answer,
 made no reply. Archelaus endeavoured to
 soften Sylla, and promised him, that Mithri-

dates should consent to all the articles. He set out for that purpose, and Sylla, after having laid waste the country, returned into Macedonia.

A. M.
3920.

Archelaus, upon his return, joined him at the city of Phillippi, and informed him, that Mithridates would accept the proposed conditions ; but that he exceedingly desired to have a conference with him. What made him earnest for this interview, was his fear of Fimbria, who having killed Flæcus, of whom mention is made before, and put himself at the head of that consul's army, advanced by great marches against Mithridates ; which determined that prince to make peace with Sylla. They had an interview at Dardania, a city of Troas. Mithridates had with him two hundred galleys, twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a great number of chariots armed with scyths : and Sylla had only four cohorts, and two hundred horse in his company. Mithridates, advancing to meet him, and offering him his hand ; Sylla asked him, whether he accepted the proposed conditions ? As the king kept silence, Sylla continued : " Do you not know, Mithridates, that it is " for suppliants to speak, and for the victo- " rious to hear and be silent ? " Upon this Mithridates began a long apology, endeavouring to throw the cause of the war, partly upon the gods, and partly upon the Romans. Sylla interrupted him, and after having made a long detail of the violences and inhumanities he had committed, he demanded of him a second time, whether he would ratify the conditions presented to him by Archelaus. Mithridates, surprized at the haughtiness and steady air

air of the Roman general, having answered in the affirmative, Sylla then received his embraces ; and afterwards presenting the kings, Ariobarzanes, and Nicomedes, to him, he reconciled them to each other. Mithridates, after the delivery of the seventy galleys entirely equipped, and five hundred archers, re-embarked.

Sylla saw plainly, that this treaty of peace was highly disagreeable to his troops. They could not bear, that a prince, who of all the kings was the most mortal enemy of Rome, and who, in one day, had caused an hundred thousand Roman citizens dispersed in Asia to be put to the sword, should be treated with so much favour, and even honour, and declared the friend and ally of the Romans, almost still reeking with their blood. Sylla, to justify his conduct, gave them to understand, that if he had rejected his proposals of peace, Mithridates, on his refusal, would not have failed to treat with Fimbria ; and that, if those two enemies had joined their forces, they would have obliged him either to abandon his conquests, or hazarded a battle against troops, superiour in number, under the command of two great captains, who in one day might have deprived him of the fruit of all his victories.

Thus ended the first war with Mithridates, which had lasted four years, and in which Sylla had destroyed more than an hundred and sixty thousand of the enemy ; recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other provinces, of which Mithridates had possessed himself ; and having deprived him of a great part of his fleet, obliged him to confine himself within the bounds of his hereditary domini-

ons. * But what is most to be admired in Sylla is, that during three years, whilst the factions of Marius and Cinna had enslaved Italy, he did not dissemble his intending to turn his arms against them, and yet continued the war he had begun; convinced, that it was necessary to conquer the foreign enemy, before he reduced and punished those at home. He was also highly laudable for his constancy, in not hearkning to any proposals from Mithridates, who offered him considerable aid against his enemies, till that prince had accepted the conditions of peace he prescribed him.

Some days after, Sylla began his march against Fimbria, who was encamped under the walls of Thyatira in Lydia, and having marked out a camp near his, he began to fortify it. Fimbria's soldiers, who came out unarmed, ran to salute and embrace those of Sylla, and assisted them with great pleasure in forming their lines. Fimbria, seeing this change in his troops, and fearing Sylla as an irreconcilable enemy, from whom he could expect no pardon, after having attempted in vain to get him assassinated, killed himself.

Sylla condemned Asia in general to pay twenty thousand talents, and besides that, rifled particulars exceedingly, by abandoning their houses to the insolence and rapaciousness of his troops, whom he quartered upon them, and

* *Vix quidquam in Syllæ operibus clarius duxerim, quam quod, cum per triennium Cinnæ Mariæ partes Italiam obsiderent, neque illaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit, nec quod erat in manibus omisit; existi-*

navitque ante frangendum hostem, quam ulciscendum civem; repulsoque externo metu; ubi quod alienum esset vicisset, superaret quod erat domesticum. Vell. Patere. l. 2. c. 2.

who

who lived at discretion as in conquered cities. For he gave orders that every host should pay each soldier quartered upon him four drachmas Two li-
vres. a day, and entertain at table himself, and as many of his friends as he should think fit to invite; that each captain should have fifty Five and
twenty
livres. drachmas, and besides that a robe for the house, and another when he went abroad.

After having punished Asia, he set out from Ephesus with all his ships, and arrived the third day at the Piræum. Having been initiated in the great mysteries, he took for his own use the library of Apellicon, in which were the works of Aristotle. That philosopher, at his death, had left his writings to Theophrastus, one of his most illustrious disciples. The latter had transferred them to Neleus of Scepsis, a city in the neighbourhood of Pergamus in Asia; after whose death those works fell into the hands of his heirs, ignorant persons, who kept them shut up in a chest. When the kings of Pergamus began to collect with care all sorts of books for their library; as the city of Scepsis was in their dependance, those heirs, apprehending these works would be taken from them, they thought proper to hide them in a vault underground, where they remained almost an hundred and thirty years; till the heirs of Neleus's family, which after several generations were fallen into extreme poverty, brought them out to sell them to Apellicon, a rich Athenian, who sought every where after the most curious books for his library. As they were very much damaged by the length of time, and the damp place where they had lain, Apellicon had copies immediately taken of them, in which there were many chasms; because the originals were either rotted in many places, or worm-

Plut. in
Syll. p. 468
Strab. l. 13.
p. 609.
Athen. l. 3.
p. 214.
Laert. in
Theoph.

eaten and effaced. These blanks, words, and letters, were filled up as well as they could be by conjecture, and that often with sufficient want of judgment. From hence arose the many difficulties in those works, which have ever since divided the learned world. Apellicon being dead some small time before Sylla's arrival at Athens, he seized upon his library; and with the works of Aristotle, which he found in it, enriched his own at Rome. A famous grammarian of those times, named Tyrannion, who lived then at Rome, having a great desire for these works of Aristotle, obtained permission from Sylla's librarian to take a copy of them. That copy was communicated to Andronicus the Rhodian, who afterwards gave it to the publick; the world is obliged to him for the works of that great philosopher.

S E C T. II.

Second war against Mithridates, under Murena, of only three year's duration. Mithridates prepares to renew the war. He concludes a treaty with Sertorius. Third war with Mithridates. Lucullus, consul, sent against him. He obliges him to raise the siege of Cyzicum, and defeats his troops. He gains a compleat victory over him, and reduces him to fly into Pontus. Tragical end of the sisters and wives of Mithridates. He endeavours to retire to Tigranes his son-in-law. Lucullus regulates the affairs of Asia.

A. M.
3921.

Ant. J. C.

83.

Appian. p.

213—216

SYLLA, on setting out for Rome, had left the government of Asia to Murena, with the two legions that had served under Fimbria,

Fimbria, to keep the province in obedience. This Murena is the father of him, for whom Cicero made the fine oration, which bears his name. His son at this time made his first campaigns under him.

After Sylla's departure, Mithridates being returned into Pontus, marched his army against the people of Colchis, and the Bosphorus, who had revolted against him. The first demanded his son Mithridates for their king, and having obtained him, immediately returned to their duty. The king, imagining their conduct to proceed from his son's intrigues, took umbrage at it, and having caused him to come to him, he ordered him to be bound with chains of gold, and soon after put him to death. That son had done him great services in the war against Fimbria. We see here a new instance of the jealousy which the excessive love of power is apt to incite, and to what an height the prince, who abandons himself to it, is capable of carrying his suspicions against his own blood; always ready to proceed to the most fatal extremities, and to sacrifice whatever is dearest to him to the slightest distrust. As for the inhabitants of the Bosphorus, he prepared a great fleet and a numerous army, which gave reason to believe, his designs were against the Romans. He had not indeed restored all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, but reserved part of it in his own hands; and he began to suspect Archelaus, as having engaged him in a peace equally shameful and disadvantageous.

When Archelaus perceived it, well knowing the master he had to deal with, he took refuge with Murena, and solicited him warmly to turn his arms against Mithridates. Murena, who passionately desired to obtain the honour

of a triumph, suffered himself to be easily persuaded. He made an irruption into Capadocia, and made himself master of Comana, the most powerful city of that kingdom. Mithridates sent ambassadors to him, to complain of his violating the treaty the Romans had made with him. Murena replied, that he knew of no treaty made with their master. There was, in reality, nothing reduced to writing on Sylla's part, the whole having passed by verbal agreement. So that he continued to ravage the country, and took up his winter-quarters in it. Mithridates sent ambassadors to Rome, to make his complaints to Sylla and the senate.

A. M.

3922.

Ant. J. C.

82.

There came a commissioner from Rome, but without a decree of the senate, who publickly ordered Murena not to molest the king of Pontus. But as they conferred together in private, this was looked upon to be mere collusion: Murena persisted, notwithstanding, in committing hostilities upon the king's lands. Mithridates therefore took the field, and having passed the river Halys, gave Murena battle, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Phrygia with very great loss,

A. M.

3923.

Ant. J. C.

81.

Sylla, who had been appointed dictator, not being able to suffer that Mithridates, contrary to the treaty he had granted him, should be disquieted, sent Gabinius to Murena to order him in earnest to desist from making war on that prince, and to reconcile him with Ariobarzanes: he obeyed. Mithridates, having put one of his sons of only four years old into the hands of Ariobarzanes as an hostage, under that pretext retained the cities, in which he had garrisons; promising, no doubt, to restore them in time. He then gave a feast, in which he proposed prizes for such as should excel the rest

in

in drinking, eating, singing, and raillying : fit objects of emulation ! Gabinius was the only one, who did not think proper to enter these lists. Thus ended the second war with Mithridates, which lasted only three years. Murena, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph, to which his pretensions were but indifferent.

Mithridates at length restored Cappadocia to A. M. Ariobarzanes, forced by Sylla, who died the ^{3926.} same year. But he contrived a stratagem to de- ^{Ant. J. C.} _{78.} prive him entirely of it. Tigranes had lately built a great city in Armenia, which, from his own name, he called Tigranocerta. Mithridates persuaded his son-in-law to conquer Cappadocia, and to transport the inhabitants into the new city, and the other parts of his dominions, that were not well peopled. He did so, and took away three hundred thousand souls. From thenceforth, wherever he carried his victorious arms, he always did the same, for the better peopling of his own dominions.

The extraordinary reputation of Sertorius, who had given the Romans terrible employment in Spain, made Mithridates conceive the thought of sending an embassy to him, in order to engage him to join forces against the common enemy. The flatterers, who compared him to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, insinuated, that the Romans, attacked at the same time on different sides, could never be able to oppose two such formidable powers, when the most able and experienced of generals should act in concert with the greatest of kings. He therefore sent ambassadors to Spain, with letters and instructions for treating with Sertorius, to whom they offered, in his name, a fleet and money to carry on the war ; upon condition, that

that he would suffer that prince to recover the provinces of Asia, which the necessity of his affairs had reduced him to abandon, by the treaty he had made with Sylla.

As soon as those ambassadors arrived in Spain, and had explained their commission to Sertorius, he assembled his council, which he called *the senate*. They were unanimously of opinion, to accept that prince's offers with joy, and so much the more, because so immediate and effective an aid, as the offered fleet and money, would cost him only a vain consent to an enterprize, which it did not in any manner depend upon him to prevent. But Sertorius, with a greatness of soul truly Roman, protested, that he would never consent to any treaty, injurious to the glory or interests of his country; and that he could desire no victory from his own enemies, that was not acquired by legal and honourable methods. And having made Mithridates's ambassadors come into the assembly; he declared to them, that he would suffer their master to keep Bithynia and Cappadocia, accustomed to be governed by kings, and of which the Romans could pretend no just right to dispose; but that he would never consent, that he should have any footing in Asia minor, which appertained to the republick, and which he had renounced by a solemn treaty.

When this answer was related to Mithridates, he was in great amazement; and he is affirmed to have said to his friends, "What orders may we not expect from Sertorius, when he shall sit in the senate in the midst of Rome; who, even now, confined upon the coast of the Atlantick ocean, dictates bounds to our dominions, and declares war upon us, if we undertake any thing against Asia?" A treaty

treaty was, however, concluded, and sworn between them, which imported: That Mithridates should have Bithynia and Cappadocia; that to that end Sertorius should send him troops, and one of his captains to command them; and that Mithridates, on his side, should pay Sertorius three thousand talents down, and give him forty galleys. *Nine millions of livres.*

The captain sent by Sertorius into Asia was a banished senator of Rome, who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius, to whom Mithridates paid great honours. For when Marius entered the cities, preceded by the fasces and axes, Mithridates followed him; well satisfied with the second place, and with only making the figure of a powerful, but inferior, ally, in this proconsul's company. Such was at that time the Roman greatness, that the name alone of that potent republick, obscured the splendor and power of the greatest kings. Mithridates, however, found his interest in this conduct. Marius, as authorized by the Roman people and senate, discharged most of the cities from paying the exorbitant taxes Sylla had imposed on them; expressly declaring, that it was from Sertorius they received, and to whom they were indebted for that favour. So moderate and politick a conduct opened the gates of the cities to him without the help of arms, and the name of Sertorius alone made more conquests than all the forces of Mithridates.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died this year, A. M. and made the Roman people his heirs. His country became thereby, as I have observed elsewhere, a province of the Roman empire. Mithridates immediately formed a resolution to renew the war against them upon this occasion, *Ant. J. C. 75. Appian. de Bello Mithrid. p. 175.*

sion, and employed the greatest part of the year in making the necessary preparations for carrying it on with vigour. He believed, that after the death of Sylla, and during the troubles with which the republick was agitated, the conjuncture was favourable for re-entring upon the conquests he had given up.

Plut. in
Lucul.
P. 469.

Instructed by his misfortunes and experience, he banished from his army all armour adorned with gold and jewels, which he began to consider as the allurements of the victor, and not as the strength of those who wore them. He caused swords to be forged after the Roman fashion, with solid and weighty bucklers: he collected horses, rather well made and broke, than magnificently adorned; assembled an hundred and twenty thousand foot, armed and disciplined as the Roman infantry, and sixteen thousand horse well equipped for service; without reckoning an hundred chariots armed with long scyths, and drawn by four horses. He also fitted out a considerable number of galleys, which glittered no longer as before with gilt pavilions, but were filled with all sorts of arms offensive and defensive, and well provided with sums of money for the paying and subsistence of the troops.

Mithridates had begun by seizing Paphlagonia and Bithynia. The province of Asia, which found itself exhausted by the exactions of the Roman tax-farmers and usurers, to deliver themselves from their oppression, declared a second time for him. Such was the cause of the third Mithridatick war, which subsisted almost twelve years.

A. M.
3930.
Ant. J. C.
74.

The two consuls, Lucullus and Cotta, were sent against him, with each of them an army under him. Lucullus had Asia, Cilicia and Cappa-

Cappadocia for his province ; the other Bithynia and the Propontis.

Whilst Lucullus was employed in reforming the rapaciousness and violence of the farmers and usurers, and in reconciling the people of the countries, through which he passed, by giving them good hopes for the times to come ; Cotta, who was already arrived, thought he had a favourable opportunity, in the absence of his colleague, to signalize himself by some notable exploit. He therefore prepared to give Mithridates battle. The more he was told, that Lucullus approached, that he was already in Phrygia, and would soon arrive ; the more haste he made to fight ; believing himself already assured of a triumph, and desirous of preventing his colleague from having any share in it. But he was beaten by sea and land. In the naval battle he lost sixty of his ships, with their whole compliments ; and in that by land he had four thousand of his best troops killed, and was obliged to shut himself up in the city of Chalcedonia, with no hope of any other relief but what his colleague should think fit to give him. All the officers of his army, enraged at Cotta's rash and presumptuous conduct, endeavoured to persuade Lucullus to enter Pontus, which Mithridates had left without troops, and where he might assure himself of finding the people inclined to a revolt. He answered generously, that he should always esteem it more glorious to preserve a Roman citizen, than to possess himself of all the dominions of an enemy ; and without resentment against his colleague, he marched to assist him with all the success he could have hoped. This was the first manner in which he distinguished himself, and

which ought to do him more honour than the most splendid victories.

A. M. Mithridates, encouraged by the double advantage he had gained, undertook the siege of
 393¹. Ant. J. C. Cyzicum, a city of Propontis, which strenu-
 73. Plat. in ously supported the Roman party in this war.
 Lucul. p. In making himself master of this place, he
 497—499 would have opened himself a passage from
 Appian. P. Bithynia into Asia minor, which would have
 219—222 been very advantageous to him, in giving him opportunity of carrying the war thither with all possible security and facility. It was for this reason he desired to take it. In order to succeed, he invested it by land with three hundred thousand men, divided in ten camps; and by sea with four hundred ships. Lucullus soon followed him thither, and began, by seizing a post upon an eminence of the last importance to him, because it facilitated his receiving convoys, and gave him the means of cutting off the enemy's provisions. He had only thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. The superiority of the enemy in number, far from dismaying, encouraged, him; for he was convinced, that so innumerable a multitude would soon be in want of provisions. Hence, in haranguing his troops, he promised them in a few days a victory, that would not cost them a single drop of blood. It was in that he placed his glory; for the lives of his soldiers were dear to him.

The siege was long, and pushed with extreme vigour. Mithridates battered the place on all sides with innumerable machines. The defence was no less vigorous. The besieged did prodigies of valour, and employed all means, that the most industrious address could invent,

to

to repulse the enemy's attacks, either by burning their machines, or by rendering them useless by a thousand obstacles they opposed to them. What inspired them with so much courage, was their exceeding confidence in Lucullus, who had let them know, that if they continued to defend themselves with the same valour, the place would not be taken.

Lucullus was indeed so well posted, that without coming to a general action, which he always carefully avoided, he made Mithridates's army suffer infinitely ; by intercepting his convoys, charging his foraging parties with advantage, and beating the detachments he sent out from time to time. In a word, he knew so well how to improve all occasions that offered ; he weakened the army of the besiegers so much ; and used such address in cutting off their provisions, having shut up all avenues by which they might be supplied, that he reduced them to extreme famine. The soldiers could find no other food but the herbage, and some went so far, as to support themselves upon human flesh. * Mithridates, who passed for the A. M. most artful captain of his times, in despair, that 3933. a general, who could not have had much ex-^{Ant. J. C.}perience, should so often put the change upon him by false marches, and feigned movements, and had overthrown him without drawing his sword, was at length obliged to raise the siege shamefully, after having spent almost two years

* Cum totius impetus belli ad Cyzicensorum mœnia constitisset, eamque urbem sibi Mithridates Asiæ januam fore putavisset, qua effracta & revulsa, tota pateret provincia : perfecta ab Lucullo hæc sunt

omnia, ut urbs fidelissimorum sociorum defenderetur, ut omnes copiæ regis diuturnitate obsidionis consumerentur. *Cic. in Orat. pro Mur.* n. 33.

in it. He fled by sea, and his lieutenants retired with his army by land to Nicomedia. Lucullus pursued them, and having come up with them near the Granicus, he killed twenty thousand of them upon the spot, and took an infinite number of prisoners. It was said, that in this war there perished almost three hundred thousand men, soldiers and servants, with other followers of the army.

After this new success, Lucullus returned to Cyzicum, entered the city, and after having enjoyed for some days the pleasure of having preserved it, and the honours consequential of that success, he made a swift tour upon the coasts of the Hellespont, to collect ships and form a fleet.

Mithridates, after having raised the siege of Cyzicum, repaired to Nicomedia, from whence he passed by sea into Pontus. He left part of his fleet, and ten thousand men of his best troops in the Hellespont, under three of his most able generals. Lucullus, with the Roman fleet *, beat them twice; the first time at Tenedos, and the other at Lemnos, when the enemy thought of nothing less than making sail for Italy, carrying the alarm thither, and plundering the coasts of Rome itself. He killed almost all their men in those two engagements; and in the last took M. Marius the Roman senator, whom Sertorius had sent into Spain to

* Ab eodem imperatore classem magnam & ornatam, quæ ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam. *Cic. pro lege Manil. n. 21.*

Quid? Illam pugnam na-

valem ad Tenedum, cum tanto concursu, acerrimis ducibus, hostium classis Italiam spe atque animis inflata peteret, mediocri certamine & parva dimicatione commissam arbitraris? *Id. pro Muræna. n. 33.*

the aid of Mithridates. Lucullus ordered him to be put to death, because it was not consistent with the Roman dignity, that a senator of Rome should be led in triumph. One of the two others poisoned himself; and the third was reserved for the triumph. After having cleared the coasts by these two victories, Lucullus turned his arms towards the continent: reduced Bithynia first, then Paphlagonia; marched afterwards into Pontus, and carried the war into the heart of Mithridates's dominions.

He suffered at first so great want of provisions in this expedition, that he was obliged to make thirty thousand Galatians follow the army, with each a quantity of wheat upon his shoulders. But upon his advancing into the country, and subjecting the cities and provinces, he found such abundance of all things, that an ox sold for only one drachma, and a slave for no more than four. *Half a livre.*

Mithridates had suffered almost as much by the tempest, in his passage on the Euxine sea, as in the campaign wherein he had been treated so roughly. He had lost almost all the remainder of his fleet, and the troops he had brought thither for the defence of his ancient dominions. When Lucullus arrived, he was making new levies with the utmost expedition, to defend himself against that invasion, which he had foreseen.

Lucullus, upon arriving in Pontus, without loss of time besieged Amisus and Eupatoria, two of the principal cities of the country, very near each other. The latter, which had been very lately built, was called Eupatoria, from the surname of Eupator, given to Mithridates; this place was his usual residence, and he de-

signed to make it the capital of his dominions. Not contented with these two sieges at once, he sent a detachment of his army to form that of Themiscyra, upon the river Thermodoon, which place was not less considerable than the two others.

The officers of Lucullus's army complained, that their general amused himself too long in sieges, which were not worth his trouble, and that in the mean time he gave Mithridates opportunity to augment his army, and fortify himself. To which he answered in his justification: " That is directly what I want. I
 " act in this manner for no other purpose; in
 " order that our enemy may take new courage,
 " and assemble so numerous an army, as may
 " embolden him to expect us in the field,
 " and fly no longer before us. Do you not
 " observe, that he has behind him immense so-
 " litudes and infinite desarts, in which it will
 " be impossible for us either to come up with,
 " or pursue him? Armenia is but a few days
 " march from these desarts. There Tigranes
 " has his court, that king of kings, whose
 " power is so great, that he subdues the Par-
 " thians, transports whole cities of Greeks into
 " the heart of Media, has made himself master
 " of Syria and Palestine, exterminated the
 " kings descended from Seleucus, and carried
 " their wives and daughters into captivity.
 " This powerful prince is the ally and son-in-
 " law of Mithridates. Do you think, when
 " he has him in his palace as a suppliant, that
 " he will abandon him, and not make war
 " upon us? Hence in hastning to drive away
 " Mithridates, we shall be in great danger of
 " drawing Tigranes upon our hands, who has
 " long sought pretexts for declaring against us,
 " and

“ and who can never find one more specious,
 “ legitimate, and honourable ; than that of
 “ assisting his father-in-law, and a king re-
 “ duced to the last extremity. Why, there-
 “ fore, should we serve Mithridates against our-
 “ selves, or shew him to whom he should have
 “ recourse for the means of supporting the
 “ war with us, by pushing him, against his
 “ will, and at a time perhaps when he looks
 “ upon such a step as unworthy his valour
 “ and greatness, into the arms and protection
 “ of Tigranes? Is it not infinitely better, by
 “ giving him time to take courage, and
 “ strengthen himself with his own forces, to
 “ have only upon our hands the troops of Col-
 “ chis, the Tibarenians, and Cappadocians,
 “ whom we have so often defeated, than to ex-
 “ pose ourselves to having the additional force
 “ of the Armenians and Medes to contend
 “ with ?”

Whilst the Romans attacked the three places
 we have mentioned, Mithridates, who had al-
 ready formed a new army, took the field very
 early in the spring. Lucullus left the command
 of the sieges of Amisus and Eupatoria to Mu-
 tenna, the son of him we have spoken of be-
 fore, whom Cicero represents in a very favou-
 rable light. * “ He went into Asia, a pro-
 “ vince abounding with riches and pleasures,
 “ where he left behind him no traces either of
 “ avarice or luxury : He behaved in such a
 “ manner in this important war, that he did
 “ many great actions without the general, the

* *Asiam istam refertam & est versatus, ut hic multas res
 eandem delicatam, sic obiit, & magnas sine imperatore
 ut in ea neque avaritiæ, neque gesserit, nullam sine hoc im-
 que luxuriæ vestigium reli- perator. Cic. pro Muræna,
 querit. Maximo in bello sic n. 20.*

"general none without him." Lucullus marched against Mithridates, who lay encamped in the plains of Cabiræ. The latter had the advantage in two actions, but was entirely defeated in the third, and obliged to fly without either servant or equerry to attend him, or a single horse of his stable. It was not till very late, that one of his eunuchs, seeing him on foot in the midst of the flying croud, got from his horse and gave it to him. The Romans were so near him, that they almost had him in their hands, and it was owing entirely to themselves that they did not take him. The avarice only of the foldiers lost them a prey, which they had pursued so long, through so many toils, dangers, and battles, and deprived Lucullus of the sole reward of all his victories. Mithridates, says * Cicero, artfully imitated the manner in which Medea escaped the pursuit of her father, in the same kingdom of Pontus. That princess is said to have cut the body of Absyr-tus her brother in pieces, and to have scattered his limbs in the places, through which her father pursued her; in order that his care in taking up those dispersed members, and the grief so sad a spectacle gave him, might stop the ra-

* Ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur: quam prædicant, in fuga, fratris sui membra in his locis, quæ se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa, mororque patrius celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti, pulcherrima-

rumque rerum omnium, quas & a majoribus acceperat, & ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congefserat in Ponto, omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio moror, hostilitia retardavit. *Cic. de leg. Manil. n. 22.*

pidity of his pursuit. Mithridates, in the same manner, as he fled, left upon the way a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious effects, which had either descended to him from his ancestors, or had been amassed by himself in the preceding wars: and whilst the soldiers employed themselves in gathering those treasures too attentively, the king escaped their hands. So that the father of Medea was stopped in his pursuit by sorrow, but the Romans by joy.

After this defeat of the enemy, Lucullus took the city of Cabiræ, with several other places and castles, in which he found great riches. He found also the prisons full of Greeks, and princes nearly related to the king, who were confined in them. As those unhappy persons had long given themselves over for dead, the liberty, they received from Lucullus, seemed less a deliverance, than new life to them. In one of these castles a sister of the king's, named Nyssa, was also taken, which was a great instance of her good fortune. For the other sisters of that prince, with his wives, who had been sent farther from the danger, and who believed themselves in safety and repose, all died miserably: Mithridates, on his flight, having sent them orders to die.

Amongst the rest were Roxana and Statira, both unmarried, and about forty years of age, with two of his wives, Berenice and Monima, both of Ionia. All Greece spoke much of the latter, whom they admired more for her wisdom than beauty, though exquisite. The king having fallen desperately in love with her, had forgot nothing that might incline her to favour his passion: he sent her at once fifteen thousand pieces of gold. She was always averse to him, and refused his presents, till he

gave her the quality of wife and queen, and sent her the royal tiara or diadem, an essential ceremony in the marriage of the kings of those nations. Nor did she then comply without extreme regret, and to satisfy the will of her family, dazzled with the splendor of a crown, and the power of Mithridates, who was at that time victorious, and at the height of his glory. From her marriage to the moment we are now speaking of, that unfortunate princess had passed her life in continual sadness and affliction, lamenting her fatal beauty, that instead of an husband had given her a master; and of procuring her an honourable abode, and the endearments of conjugal society, had confined her in a close prison, under a guard of Barbarians; where far removed from the delightful regions of Greece, she had only enjoyed a dream of the happiness, with which she had been flattered, and had really lost that solid and essential good she possessed in her own beloved country.

When Bacchidas arrived, and had signified to the princess the order of Mithridates, which favoured them no further, than to leave them at liberty to chuse the kind of death they should think most gentle and immediate; Monima, taking the diadem from her head, tied it round her neck, and hung herself up by it. But that wreath not being strong enough, and breaking, she cried out: *Ab fatal trifle, you might at least render me this mournful service!* Then throwing it away with indignation, she presented her neck to Bacchidas.

As for Berenice she took a cup of poison, and as she was going to drink it, her mother, who was present, desired to share it with her. They accordingly drank both together. The
half

half of that cup sufficed to carry off the mother, worn out and feeble with age ; but was not enough to surmount the strength and youth of Berenice. That princess struggled long with death in the most violent agonies, till Bacchidas, being weary of waiting the effects of the poison, ordered her to be strangled.

Of the two sisters, Roxana is said to have swallowed poison, venting a thousand reproaches and imprecations against Mithridates. Statura, on the contrary, was pleased with her brother, and thanked him, that being in so great danger for his own person, he had not forgot them, and had taken care to supply them with the means of dying free, and of withdrawing from the indignities, their enemies might else have made them suffer.

Their deaths extremely afflicted Lucullus, who was of a gentle and humane disposition. He continued his march in pursuit of Mithridates : but having received advice, that he was four days journey before him, and had taken the route for Armenia, to retire to his son-in-law, he returned directly, and after having subjected some countries, and taken some cities in the neighbourhood, he sent Appius Clodius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates of him ; and in the mean time returned against Amisus, which place was not yet taken. Callimachus, A. M. who commanded in it, and was the most able ^{3934.} engineer of his times, had alone prolonged the ^{Ant. J. C.} siege. When he saw, that he could hold out ^{70.} no longer, he set fire to the city, and escaped in a ship that waited for him. Lucullus did his utmost to extinguish the flames, but in vain ; and to encrease his concern, saw himself obliged to abandon the city to be plundered by the soldiers, from whom the place had as much to

fear as from the flames themselves. His troops were insatiable for booty, and he was not capable of restraining them. A rain, that happened to fall, preserved a great number of buildings, and Lucullus, before his departure, caused those which had been burnt to be rebuilt. This city was an antient colony of the Athenians. Such of the Athenians, during Aristion's being master of Athens, as desired to fly from his tyranny, had retired thither, and enjoyed there the same rights and privileges with the natives.

Lucullus, when he left Amisus, directed his march towards the cities of Asia, whom the avarice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers, held under the most dreadful oppression; insomuch that those poor people were obliged to sell their children of both sexes, and even set up to auction the paintings and statues consecrated to the gods. And when these would not suffice to pay the duties, taxes, and interest of imposts unpaid, they were given up without mercy to their creditors, and often exposed to such barbarous tortures, that slavery, in comparison with their miseries, seemed a kind of redress and tranquillity to them.

*Si-ty mil-
lion: of
livres.*

These immense debts of the province arose from the fine of twenty thousand talents, which Sylla had imposed on it. They had already paid the sum twice over: but those insatiable usurers, by heaping up interest upon interest, had ran it up to an hundred and twenty thousand talents; so that they still owed tripple the sums they had already paid.

*Three hun-
dred and
sixty mil-
lions of
livres.*

Tacitus * has reason to say, that usury was one of the most antient evils of the Roman

* Sane vetus urbi senebre cordiarumque creberrima causa, Tacit. *Annal.* l. 6. c. 16.
common-

commonwealth, and the most frequent cause of sedition : but at the time we now speak of it was carried to an excess not easy to comprehend.

The interest of money amongst the Romans was paid every month, and was one *per cent* : hence it was called *usura centesima*, or *unciarum fœnus* ; because in reckoning the twelve months, twelve *per cent*. was paid : *uncia* is the twelfth part of an whole.

The * law of the twelve tables prohibited the Tacit. An- raising interest to above twelve *per cent*. This nal. l. 6. law was revived by the two tribunes of the peo- c. 16. ple, in the 396th year of Rome. Liv. l. 7. n. 16.

Ten years after, interest was reduced to half Ibid. n. 27. that sum, in the 406th year of Rome ; *semunciarum fœnus*.

At length, in the 411th year of Rome, all Ibid. n. 42. interest was prohibited by decree : *ne fœnerari liceret*.

All these decrees were ineffectual. † Avarice was always too strong for the laws : and whatever regulations were made to suppress it, either in the time of the republick, or under the emperors, it always found means to elude them. Nor has it paid more regard to the laws of the church, which has never entered into any composition in this point, and severely condemns all usury, even the most moderate ; because, God having forbade any, she never believed she had a right to permit it in the least. It is remarkable, that usury has always occasioned the ruin of the states where it has been tolerated ; and it was this disorder, which contributed

* Nequis unciario fœnore amplius exerceto. itam fraudibus : quæ toties repressæ, miras per artes, rursum ariebantur. Tacit. ibid.

† Multis plebiscitis obviam

very much to subvert the constitution of the Roman republick, and gave birth to the greatest calamities in all the provinces of that empire.

Lucullus, at this time, applied himself in giving the province of Asia some redress, which he could only effect, by putting a stop to the injustice and cruelty of the usurers and tax-farmers. The latter, finding themselves deprived by Lucullus of the immense gain they made, as if they had been excessively injured, raised a great cry, and by the force of money, stirred up many orators against him; particularly confiding in having most of those who governed the republick in their debt, which gave them a very extensive, and almost unbounded, influence. But Lucullus despised their clamours, with a constancy the more admirable, from its being very extraordinary and uncommon.

S E C T. III.

Lucullus causes war to be declared with Tigranes, and marches against him. Vanity and ridiculous self-sufficiency of that prince. He loses a great battle. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, capital of Armenia. He gains a second victory over the joint-forces of Tigranes and Mithridates. Mutiny and revolt in the army of Lucullus.

A. M.

3934-

Ant. J. C.

70.

Plut. in

Lucul. p.

504-512

Memn.

c. 48-57

Appian. in

Mithrid.

p. 228-

232.

TIGRANES, to whom Lucullus had sent an ambassador, though of no great power in the beginning of his reign, had enlarged it so much by a series of successes; of which there are few examples, that he was commonly surnamed the *king of kings*. After having overthrown, and almost ruined the family of the kings,

kings, successors of Seleucus the Great; after having very often humbled the pride of the Parthians, transported whole cities of Greeks into Media, conquered all Syria and Palestine, and given laws to the Arabians, called Scænitæ; he reigned with an authority respected by all the princes of Asia. The people paid him honours, after the manner of the East, even to adoration. His pride was inflamed and supported by the immense riches he possessed, by the excessive and continual praises of his flatterers, and by a prosperity, that had never known any interruption.

Appius Clodius was introduced to an audience of this prince, who appeared with all the splendor he could display, in order to give the ambassador an higher idea of the royal dignity; on his side, uniting the haughtiness of his disposition, with that which particularly characterised his republick, perfectly supported the dignity of an ambassador from the Romans.

After having explained, in a few words, the subjects of complaints, which the Romans had against Mithridates, and that prince's breach of faith in breaking the peace, without so much as attempting to give any reason or colour for it; he told Tigranes, that he came to demand his being delivered up to him, as due by every sort of title to Lucullus's triumph; that he did not believe, as a friend to the Romans, which he had been till then, that he would make any difficulty in giving up Mithridates, and that in case of his refusal, he was instructed to declare war against him.

That prince, who had never been contradicted, and who knew no other law nor rule but his will and pleasure, was extremely offended at this Roman freedom. But he was much

more so with Lucullus's letter, when it was delivered to him. The title of king only, which it gave him, did not satisfy him. He had taken that of *king of kings*, of which he was very fond, and had carried his pride in that respect so far, as to cause himself to be served by crowned heads. He never appeared in publick without having four kings attending him ; two on foot, on each side of his horse, when he went abroad : at table, in his chamber, in short, every where, he had always some of them to do the lowest offices for him ; but especially when he gave audience to ambassadors. For at that time, in order to give strangers a greater idea of his glory and power, he made them all stand in two ranks, one on each side of his throne, where they appeared in the habit and posture of common slaves. A pride so full of absurdity offends all the world. One more refined hurts less, though much the same at bottom.

It is not surprizing, that a prince of this character, should bear the manner in which Clodius spoke to him with impatience. It is the first free and sincere speech he had heard, during the five and twenty years he had governed his subjects, or rather tyrannized over them with excessive insolence. He answered ; that Mithridates was the father of Cleopatra his wife ; that the union between them was of too strict a nature, to admit his delivering him up for the triumph of Lucullus ; and that if the Romans were unjust enough to make war upon him, he knew how to defend himself, and to make them repent it. To express his resentment by his answer, he directed it only to Lucullus, without adding the usual title of Imperator,

rator, or any others commonly given to the Roman generals.

Lucullus, when Clodius reported his commission, and that war had been declared against Tigranes, returned with the utmost diligence into Pontus to begin it. The enterprize seemed rash, and the terrible power of the king astonished all those, who relied less upon the valour of the troops, and the conduct of the general, than upon a multitude of soldiers. After having made himself master of Sinope, he gave that city its liberty, as he did also to Amisus, and made them both free and independant cities. Cotta did not treat Heraclea, which he took after a long siege by treachery, in the same manner. He enriched himself out of its spoils, treated the inhabitants with excessive cruelty, and burnt almost the whole city. On his return to Rome, he was at first well received by the senate, and honoured with the surname of Ponticus, upon account of the taking that city. But soon after, when the Heracleans had laid their complaints before the senate, and represented, in a manner capable of moving the hardest hearts, the miseries Cotta's avarice and cruelty had made them suffer, the senate contented themselves with depriving him of the *Latusclavus*, which was the robe worn by the senators, a punishment in no wise proportioned to the crying excesses proved upon him. Mema.
c. 51—61.

Lucullus left Sornatius, one of his generals, in Pontus, with six thousand men, and marched with the rest, which amounted only to twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse, through Cappadocia to the Euphrates. He passed that river in the midst of the winter, and afterwards the Tigris, and came before Tigranocerta, which was at some small distance, to attack Tigranes in

in his capital; where he had lately arrived from Syria. No body dared speak to that prince of Lucullus and his march, after the cruel treatment he had ordered to be given him, who brought him the first news of it; and whom he put to death in reward for so important a service. He gave ear to nothing but the discourses of flatterers, who told him Lucullus must be a great captain, if he only dared wait for him at Ephesus, and did not take to flight and abandon Asia, when he saw the many thousands, of which his army was composed. So true it is, says Plutarch, that as all constitutions are not capable of bearing much wine, all minds are not suited to bearing great fortunes, without loss of reason and infatuation.

Tigranes, at first, had not deigned so much as to see or speak to Mithridates; though his father-in-law, but treating him with the utmost contempt and arrogance, he kept him at a distance, and placed a guard under him as a prisoner of state, in marshy unwholesome places. But after Clodius's embassy, he had ordered him to be brought to court with all possible honours and marks of respect. In a private conversation which they had together, without witnesses, they cured themselves of their mutual suspicions, to the great misfortune of their friends, upon whom they cast all the blame.

In the number of those unfortunates was Metrodorus, of the city of Scepsis, a man of extraordinary merit, and who had so much credit with the king, that he was called the king's father. That prince had sent him on an embassy to Tigranes, to desire aid against the Romans. When he had explained the occasion of his journey, Tigranes asked him; *And for you,*

A. M.
3935.
Ant. J. C.
69.

you, Metrodorus, what would you advise me to do, in regard to your master's demands? Upon which Metrodorus replied, out of an excess of ill-timed sincerity; *As an ambassador, I advise you to do what Mithridates demands of you; but as your counsel, not to do it.* This was a criminal prevarication, and a kind of treason. It cost him his life, when Mithridates had been apprized of it by Tigranes.

Lucullus continually advanced against that prince, and was already in a manner at the gates of his palace, without his either knowing or believing any thing of the matter, so much was he blinded by his presumption. Mithrobarzanes, one of his favourites, ventured to carry him that news. The reward he had for it, was to be charged with a commission, to go immediately with some troops, and bring Lucullus prisoner; as if the question had been only to arrest one of the king's subjects. The favourite, with the greatest part of the troops given him, lost their lives, in endeavouring to execute that dangerous commission. This ill success opened the eyes of Tigranes, and made him recover from his infatuation. Mithridates had been sent back into Pontus with ten thousand horse, to raise troops there, and to return and join Tigranes, in case Lucullus entered Armenia. For himself, he had chosen to continue at Tigranocerta, in order to give the necessary orders for raising troops throughout his whole dominions. After this check he began to be afraid of Lucullus, quitted Tigranocerta, retired to Mount Taurus, and gave orders to all his troops to repair thither to him.

Lucullus marched directly to Tigranocerta, took up his quarters around the place, and formed the siege of it. This city was full of
all

all sorts of riches ; the inhabitants of all orders and conditions having emulated each other in contributing to its embellishment and magnificence, in order to make their court to the king. It was therefore Lucullus pressed the siege with the utmost vigour ; believing that Tigranes would never suffer it to be taken, and that he would come on in a transport of fury to offer him battle, and oblige him to raise the siege. And he was not mistaken in his conjecture. Mithridates sent every day couriers to Tigranes, and wrote him letters, to advise him in the strongest terms not to hazard a battle, and only to make use of his cavalry, in cutting off Lucullus's provisions. Taxilus himself was sent by him with the same instructions, who staying with him in his camp, made earnest instances to him every day, not to attack the Roman armies, as they were excellently disciplined, veteran soldiers, and almost invincible.

At first he hearkened to this advice with patience enough. But when his troops, consisting of a great number of different nations, were assembled, not only the king's feasts, but his councils resounded with nothing but vain bravadoes, full of insolence, pride, and Barbarian menaces. Taxilus was in danger of being killed, for having ventured to oppose the advice of those, who were for a battle ; and Mithridates himself was openly accused of opposing it, only out of envy, to deprive his son-in-law of the glory of so great a success.

In this conceit Tigranes determined to wait no longer, lest Mithridates should arrive, and share with him in the honour of the victory. He therefore marched with all his forces, telling his friends, that he was only sorry on one account, and that was, his having to do with Lucullus alone,

alone, and not with all the Roman generals together. He measured his hopes of success by the number of his troops. He had twenty thousand archers and slingers, fifty-five thousand horse, seventeen thousand of which were heavy-armed cavalry, an hundred and fifty thousand foot, divided by companies and battalions, besides workmen to clear the roads, build bridges, cleanse and turn the course of rivers, with other labourers necessary in armies, to the number of thirty-five thousand, who, drawn up in battle behind the combatants, made the army appear still more numerous, and augmented its force and his confidence.

When he had passed mount Taurus, and all his troops appeared together in the plains, the sight alone of his army, was sufficient to strike terror into the most daring enemy. Lucullus, always intrepid, divided his troops. He left Murena with six thousand foot before the place, and with all the rest of his infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts, which together did not amount to more than ten or twelve thousand men; all his horse, and about a thousand archers and slingers, he marched against Tigranes, and encamped in the plain, with a large river in his front.

This handful of men made Tigranes laugh, and supplied his flatterers with great matter for pleasantry. Some openly jested upon them; others, by way of diversion, drew lots for their spoils; and of all Tigranes's generals and the kings in his army, there was not one who did not entreat him to give the charge of that affair to him alone, and content himself with being only a spectator of the action. Tigranes himself said, to appear agreeable and a fine raillier;

If they come as ambassadors, they are a great many ; but if as enemies, very few. Thus the first day passed in jesting and raillery.

The next morning, at sun-rise, Lucullus made his army march out of their entrenchments. That of the Barbarians was on the other side of the river towards the east, and the river ran in such a manner, that a little below it turned off to the left, towards the west, where it was easily fordable. Lucullus, in leading his army to this ford, inclined also to the left, towards the lower part of the river, hastning his march. Tigranes, who saw him, believed he fled ; and calling for Taxilus, he told him with a contemptuous laugh : *Do you see those invincible Roman legions ? You see they can run away.* Taxilus replied, *I wish your majesty's good fortune may this day produce a miracle in your favour ; but the arms and march of those legions do not argue people intent on flying.*

Taxilus was still speaking, when he saw the eagle of the first legions move on a sudden to the right about, by the command of Lucullus, followed by all the cohorts, in order to pass the river. Tigranes, recovering at that time, as from a long fit of distraction or drunkenness, cried out two or three times, *How ! Are those people coming to us !* They came on so fast, that those numerous troops did not post themselves, nor draw up in battle without abundance of disorder and confusion. Tigranes placed himself in the centre ; gave the left wing to the king of the Adiabeniens, and the right to the king of the Medes. The greatest part of the heavy-armed horse covered the front of the right wing.

As Lucullus was preparing to pass the river, some of his general officers advised him not to act upon that day, because one of those unfortunate days, which the Romans called *black days*. For it was the same upon which the army of Cépion had been defeated in the battle with the Cimbri. Lucullus made them this answer, which afterwards became so famous: *And for me, I'll make this an happy day for the Romans.* It was the sixth of October, (the day before the nones of October.)

After having made that reply, and exhorted them not to be discouraged, he passed the river, and marched foremost against the enemy. He was armed with a steel cuirass, covered with scales, which glittered surprizingly; over that was his coat of arms bordered all around with a fringe. He carried his naked sword shining in his hand, to intimate to his troops, that it was necessary to join the enemy immediately, accustomed to fight only at distance with their arrows; and to deprive them, by the swiftness and warmth of the attack, of the space required for the use of them.

Perceiving that the heavy-armed cavalry, upon whom the enemy very much relied, were drawn up at the foot of a little hill, of which the summit was flat and level, and the declivity of not above five hundred paces, neither much broken nor very difficult, he saw at first view what use he had to make of it. He commanded his Thracian and Galatian horse to charge that body of the enemy's cavalry in flank, with orders only to turn aside their lances with their swords. For the principal, or rather whole, force of those heavy-armed horse, consisted in their lances, which when they had not room to use, they could do nothing either against the

enemy, or for themselves; their arms being so heavy, stiff, and cumbersome, that they could not turn themselves, and were almost immoveable.

Whilst his cavalry marched to execute his orders, he took two cohorts of foot, and went to gain the eminence. The infantry followed courageously, excited by the example of their general, whom they saw marching foremost on foot, and ascending the hill. When he was at the top, he shewed himself from the highest part of it, and seeing from thence the whole order of the enemy's battle, he cried out; *The victory is ours, fellow soldiers, the victory is ours.* And at the same time, with his two cohorts he advanced against that heavy-armed cavalry, ordered his troops not to make use of their pikes, but join those horse sword in hand, and strike upon their legs and thighs, which were the only unarmed parts about them. But his soldiers had not so much trouble with them. Those horse did not stay their coming on, but shamefully took to flight; and howling as they fled, fell with their heavy unweildy horses into the ranks of their foot, without joining battle at all, or so much as making a single thrust with their lances. The slaughter did not begin till they began to fly, or rather to endeavour it; for they could not do so, being prevented by their own battalions, whose ranks were so close and deep, that they could not break their way through them. Tigranes, that king so lofty and brave in words, had taken to flight from the beginning, with a few followers; and seeing his son, the companion of his fortune, he took off his diadem weeping, and having given it him, exhorted him to save himself as well as he could by another route. That young prince
was

was afraid to put the diadem upon his head, which would have been a dangerous ornament at such a time. He gave it into the hands of one of the most faithful of his servants, who was taken a moment after, and carried to Lucullus.

It is said, that in this defeat more than an hundred thousand of the enemy's foot perished, and that very few of their horse escaped : on the side of the Romans, only five were killed, and an hundred wounded. They had never engaged in a pitched battle so great a number of enemies with so few troops ; for the victors did not amount to the twentieth part of the vanquished. The greatest, and most able Roman generals, who had seen most wars and battles, gave Lucullus particular praises, for having defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world, by two entirely different methods, protraction and diligence. For by delaying and spinning out the war, he exhausted Mithridates when he was strongest and most formidable ; and ruined Tigranes, by making haste, and not giving him time to look about him. It has been remarked, that few captains have known how, like him, to make slowness active, and haste sure.

That was what prevented Mithridates from being present in the battle. He imagined Lucullus would use the same precaution and protraction against Tigranes, as he had done against himself. So that he marched but slowly, and by small days journies to join Tigranes. But having met some Armenians upon the way, who fled with the utmost terror and consternation he suspected what had happened ; and afterwards meeting a much greater number, he was fully informed of the defeat, and went in search of Tigranes. He found him at length, abandoned

done by all the world, and in a very deplorable condition. Far from returning his ungenerous treatment, and insulting Tigranes in his misfortunes, as he had done him; he quitted his horse, lamented with him their common disgraces, gave him the guard that attended, and the officers that served him, consoled, encouraged him, and revived his hopes: So that Mithridates, upon this occasion, shewed himself not entirely void of humanity. Both together applied to raising new troops on all sides.

In the mean time a furious sedition arose in Tigranocerta, the Greeks having mutinied against the Barbarians, and determined, at all events, to deliver the city to Lucullus. That sedition was at the highest, when he arrived there. He took advantage of the occasion, ordered the assault to be given, took the city, and after having seized all the king's treasures, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers; who, besides other riches, found in it eight thousand talents of coined silver, (four and twenty millions of livres.) Besides this plunder, he gave each soldier eight hundred drachmas, which, with all the booty they had taken, did not suffice to satisfy their insatiable avidity.

*Four hundred
livres.*

Strab. l. 11.
p. 532. &
l. 12. p.
539.

As this city had been peopled by colonies, which had been carried away by force from Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other places, Lucullus permitted them all to return into their native countries. They received that permission with extreme joy, and quitted it in so great a number, that from one of the greatest cities in the world, Tigranocerta became in a moment almost a desert.

Dion. Caf. If Lucullus had pursued Tigranes after his
l. 35. p. 1. victory, without giving him time to raise new
troops, he would either have taken or driven
him

him out of the country, and the war had been at an end. His having failed to do so was very ill taken both in the army and at Rome, and he was accused not of negligence, but of having intended by such conduct to make himself necessary, and to retain the command longer in his own hands. This was one of the reasons, that prejudiced the generality against him, and induced them to think of giving him a successor, as we shall see in the sequel.

After the great victory he had gained over Tigranes, several nations came to make their submissions to him. He received also an embassy from the king of the Parthians, who demanded the amity and alliance of the Romans. Lucullus received this proposal agreeably, and sent also ambassadors to him, who, being arrived at the Parthian court, discovered, that the king, uncertain which side to take, wavered between the Romans and Tigranes, and had secretly demanded Mesopotamia of the latter, as the price of the aid he offered him. Lucullus, informed of this secret intrigue, resolved to leave Mithridates and Tigranes, and turn his arms against the king of the Parthians; flattered with the grateful thought, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to have entirely reduced, in one expedition, the three most powerful princes under the sun. But the opposition this proposal met with from the troops, obliged him to renounce his enterprize against the Parthians, and to confine himself in pursuing Tigranes.

During this delay, Mithridates and Tigranes had been indefatigable in raising new troops. They had sent to implore aid of the neighbouring nations, and especially of the Parthians, who were the nearest, and at the same time in

the best condition to assist them, in the present emergency of their affairs. Mithridates wrote a letter to their king, which Sallust has preserved, and is to be found amongst his fragments. I shall insert a part of it in this place.

*Letter from Mithridates to * Arsaces king of the Parthians.*

“ **A** L L those †, who in a state of prosperity, are invited to enter as confederates into a war, ought first to consider, whether peace be at their own option; and then, whether what is demanded of them, is consistent with justice, their interest, safety, and glory. You might enjoy perpetual peace and tranquillity, were not the enemy always intent upon seizing occasions for war, and entirely void of faith. In reducing the Romans, you cannot but acquire exalted glory. It may seem inconsistent in me, to propose to you either an alliance with Tigranes, or power-

* *Arsaces was a common name to all the kings of Parthia.*

† Omnes, qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur, considerare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere: dein' quod queritur, satisfecit, tutum, gloriosum, an indecorum sit. Tibi perpetuam pacem frui liceret, nisi hostes opportuni & sceleratissimi. Egregia fama si Romanos oppresseris, futura est. Neque petere audeam societatem, & frustra mala mea cum tuis bonis misceri sperem. Atqui ea, quæ te mo-

rari posse videntur, ira in Tigranem recentis belli, & mea res parum prosperæ, si vera æstimare voles, maxime hortabuntur. Ille enim obnoxius, qualem tu voles societatem accipiet: mihi fortuna, multis rebus creptis, usum dedit bene suadendi, & quod florentibus optabile est, ego non validissimus præbeo exemplum, quo rectius tua componas. Namque Romanis cum nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis, una & ea vetus causa bellandi est, cupido profunda imperii & divitiarum. —

“ ful

“ful as you are, that you should join a prince
 “in my unfortunate condition. But I dare
 “advance, that those motives, your resent-
 “ment against Tigranes upon account of his
 “late war with you, and the no advantagi-
 “ous situation of my affairs, far from opposing
 “my demand, ought to support it in a right
 “estimation of things. For as to Tigranes,
 “as he knows he has given you just subject
 “of complaint, he will accept, without diffi-
 “culty, whatever conditions you shall think
 “fit to impose upon him; and for me, I can
 “say, that fortune, by having deprived me of
 “almost all I possessed, has enabled me to
 “give others good counsels, and what is much
 “to be desired by persons in prosperity; I
 “can, even from my own misfortunes, supply
 “you with examples, and induce you to
 “take better measures than I have done. For
 “do not deceive your self, it is with all the
 “nations, states, and kings of the earth, the
 “Romans are at war; and two motives, as
 “antient as powerful, put their arms into their
 “hands; the unbounded ambition of extend-
 “ing their conquests, and the insatiable thirst
 “of treasure.” Mithridates afterwards enu-
 merates at large the princes and kings they had
 reduced one after another, and often by one a-
 nother. He repeats also his first successes a-
 gainst the Romans, and his late misfortunes.
 He goes on to this effect: “Examine * now,
 “ I beg

* Nunc quæso, considera,
 nobis oppressis, utrum firmi-
 orem te ad resistendum, an
 finem belli futurum putes?
 Scio equidem tibi magnas

opes virorum, armorum, &
 auri esse: et eare nobis ad
 societatem, ab illis, ad præ-
 dam peteris. Cæterum con-
 silium est Tigranis, regno in-
 tegro,

“ I beg you, when we are finally ruined, whe-
 “ ther you will be in a condition to resist the
 “ Romans, or can believe, that they will con-
 “ fine their conquests to my country ? I know
 “ you are powerful in men, in arms, and trea-
 “ sure ; it is therefore we desire to strengthen
 “ ourselves by your alliance ; they, to grow
 “ rich by your spoils. For the rest, it is the
 “ intent of Tigranes to avoid drawing the war
 “ into his own country ; that we shall go with
 “ all my troops, which are certainly well dis-
 “ ciplined, to carry our arms far from home,
 “ and attack the enemy in person in his own
 “ country. We cannot therefore either con-
 “ quer or be conquered, without your being in
 “ danger. Do you not know, that the Ro-

tegro, meis militibus belli
 prudentibus, procul ab do-
 mo, parvo labore, per no-
 stra corpora bellum conficere : quando neque vincere
 neque vinci sine periculo tuo possumus. An ignoras Romanos, postquam ad occidentem pergentibus finem oceanus fecit, arma huc convertisse ? Neque quicquam a principio nisi raptum habere ; domum, conjuges, agros, imperium ? Convenas, olim sine patriâ, sine parentibus, peste conditos orbis terrarum : quibus non humana ulla neque divina obstant, quin socios, amicos ; procul, juxtaque sitos, inopes, potentefque trahant, excidantque ; omniaque non serva, & maxime regna, hostilia ducant. Namque pauci libertatem pars magna justos dominos volunt. Nos suspecti sumus æmuli, & in tempore vindi-

ces affuturi. Tu vero cui Seleucia maxima urbium, regnumque Persidis inclitis divitiis est, quid ab illis, nisi dolum in præsens, & postea bellum expectas ? Romani in omnes arma habent, acerrima in eos quibus victis spolia maxuma sunt. Audendo & fallendo, & bella ex bellis ferendo, magni facti. Per hunc morem extinguunt omnia aut occidunt : quod difficile non est, si tu Mesopotamiâ, nos Armeniâ circumgredimur exercitum sine frumento, sine auxiliis. Fortuna autem nostris vitiis adhuc incolumis. Teque illa fama sequetur, auxilio profectum magnis regibus latrones gentium oppressisse. Quod uti facias moneo hortorque, neu malis pernecie nostra unum imperium probare, quam societate victor fieri.

“ mans,

" mans, when they found themselves stopped
 " by the ocean on the west, turned their arms
 " on our side? That to look back to their
 " foundation and origin, whatever they have,
 " they have from violence; home, wives,
 " lands, and dominions. A vile herd of
 " every kind of vagabonds; without country,
 " without forefathers, they established them-
 " selves for the misfortune of human race.
 " Neither divine nor human laws can prevent
 " them from betraying and destroying their al-
 " lies and friends, remote nations or neigh-
 " bours, the weak or the powerful. They
 " reckon all enemies, that are not their slaves;
 " and especially, whatever bears the name of
 " king. For few nations affect a free and in-
 " dependant government; the generality pre-
 " fer just and equitable masters. They suspect
 " us, because we are supposed to emulate their
 " power, and may in time avenge their oppres-
 " sions. But for you, who have Seleucia, the
 " greatest of cities, and Persia, the richest and
 " most powerful of kingdoms, what can you
 " expect from them, but deceit at present, and
 " war hereafter? The Romans are at war with
 " all nations; but especially with those, from
 " whom the richest spoils are to be expected.
 " They are become great by enterprizing, be-
 " traying, and by making one war bring forth
 " another. By this means they will either de-
 " stroy all others, or be destroyed themselves.
 " It will not be difficult to ruin them, if you,
 " on the side of Mesopotamia, and we, on
 " that of Armenia, surround their army,
 " without provisions or auxiliaries. The pros-
 " perity of the Roman arms has subsisted to
 " this day, solely by our fault, who have not
 " been so prudent to understand this common

" enemy, and to ally our selves against him.
 " It will be for your immortal glory to have
 " supported two great kings, and to have con-
 " quered and destroyed these robbers of the
 " world. This is what I advise and exhort
 " you to do ; that you may chuse rather to
 " share with us by a salutary alliance, in con-
 " quering the common enemy, than to suffer
 " the Roman empire to extend itself universally
 " by our ruin."

It does not appear that this letter had the effect upon Phraates, Mithridates might have hoped from it. So that the two kings contented themselves with their own troops.

Appian. in One of the means made use of by Tigranes
 Syr. p. to assemble a new army, was to recal Mega-
 118, 119. dates from Syria, who had governed it fourteen
 years in his name : him he sent orders to join
 Justin. him with all the troops in that country. Syria
 l. 40. c. 2. being thereby entirely ungarrisoned, Antiochus
 Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eupator, to whom
 it of right appertained, as lawful heir of the
 house of Seleucus, took possession of some part
 of the country, and reigned there peaceably
 during four years.

A. M. The army of Tigranes and Mithridates was
 3936. at last formed. It consisted of seventy thou-
 Ant. J. C. sand chosen men, whom Mithridates had ex-
 68. ercised well in the Roman discipline. It was
 Plut. in about midsummer before it took the field. The
 Lucul p. 513—515 two kings took particular care, in all the mo-
 tions they made, to chuse an advantageous
 ground for their camp, and to fortify it well,
 to prevent Lucullus's attacking them in it ;
 nor could all the stratagems he used engage
 them to come to a battle. Their design was to
 reduce him gradually, to harrass his troops on
 their

their marches, in order to weaken them, to intercept his convoys ; and oblige him to quit the country for want of provisions. Lucullus not being able, by all the arts he could use, to bring them into the open field, employed a new means, which succeeded. Tigranes had left at Artaxata, the capital of Armenia, before the foundation of Tigranocerta, his wives and children ; as he had almost all his treasures. Lucullus marched that way with all his troops, rightly foreseeing, that Tigranes would not remain quiet, when he saw the danger to which his capital was exposed. That prince accordingly decamped immediately, followed Lucullus to disconcert his design, and by four great marches having got before him, he posted himself behind the river * Arsamia, which Lucul- * Or Ar-
lus was obliged to pass in his way to Artaxata, *sania.* resolved to dispute the passage with him. The Romans passed the river without being prevented by the view or efforts of the enemy. A great battle ensued, in which the Romans again obtained a compleat victory. There were three kings in the Armenian army, of whom Mithridates behaved the worst. For not being able to look the Roman legions in the face, as soon as they charged, he was one of the first that took to flight ; which threw the whole army into such a terror, that it soon entirely lost courage ; this was the principal cause of the loss of the battle.

Lucullus, after this victory, determined to Dion. Caf
continue his march to Artaxata, which was the l. 37.
certain means to put an end to the war. But as P. 3-7.
that city was still several days journey from
thence towards the north, and winter ap-
proached with its train of snow and storms,
the

the * soldiers, already fatigued by a sufficiently rude campaign, refused to follow him into that country, where the cold was too severe for them. He was obliged to lead them into a warmer climate, by returning the way he came. He therefore repassed mount Taurus, and entered Mesopotamia, where he took the city Nisibis, a place of considerable strength, and put his troops into winter-quarters.

It was there that the spirit of mutiny began to shew itself openly in the army of Lucullus. That general's severity, and the insolent liberty of the Roman soldiers, and still more, the malignant practices of Clodius, had given occasion for this revolt. Clodius, so well known by the invectives of Cicero, his enemy, is hardly better treated by historians. They represent him as a man abandoned to all kind of vices, and infamous for his debauches, which he carried so far, as to commit incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus; to these he added unbounded audacity, and uncommon cunning in the contrivance of sedition: in a word, he was one of those dangerous persons, born to disturb and ruin every thing, by the unhappy union in himself of the most wicked inclinations, with the talents necessary for putting them in execution. He gave a proof of this upon the occasion we are now speaking. Discontented with Lucullus, he secretly spread reports, highly proper to render him odious. He affected to lament extremely the fatigues of the soldiers, and to enter into their interests.

* Noster exercitus, etsi urbem ex Tigranis regno cepit, & præliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimiam longin-

guitate locorum, ac desiderio suorum, commovebatur. *Cic. pro lege Mar. n. 23.*

He told them every day, that they were very unfortunate, in being obliged to serve so long under a severe and avaricious general, in a remote climate, without lands or rewards, whilst their fellow soldiers, whose conquests were very moderate in comparison with theirs, had enriched themselves under Pompey. Discourses of this kind, attended with obliging and popular behaviour, which he knew how to assume occasionally, without the appearance of affectation, made such an impression upon the minds of the soldiers, that it was no longer in the power of Lucullus to govern them.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had re-entered Pontus with four thousand of his own, and four thousand troops given him by Tigranes. * Several inhabitants of the country joined him again, as well out of hatred for the Romans, who had treated them with great rigour, as the remains of affection for their king, reduced to the mournful condition in which they saw him, from the most splendid fortune and exalted greatness. For the misfortunes of princes naturally excite compassion, and there is generally a profound respect in the hearts of the people, for the name and person of kings. Mithridates, encouraged and strengthened by these new aids, and the troops which several neighbouring states and princes sent him, resumed courage, and saw himself more than

* Mithridates & suam magnam jam confirmarat, & eorum qui se ex ejus regno collegerant, & magnis adventitiis multorum regum & nationum copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam ferè sic fieri solere accipimus; ut regum afflictæ for-

tunæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut, reges sunt, aut vivant in regno: quod regale iis nomen magnum & sanctum esse videatur. *Cic. pro Leg. Manil. n. 24.*

ever,

ever, in a condition to make head against the Romans. * So that not contented with being re-established in his dominions, which a moment before he did not so much as dare hope ever to see again, he had the boldness to attack the Roman troops so often victorious, beat a body of them, commanded by Fabius, and after having put them to the route, pressed Friarius and Sornatius, two other of Lucullus's lieutenants in that country, with great vigour.

A. M.

3937.

Ant. J. C.

67.

Lucullus at length engaged his soldiers to quit their winter-quarters, and to go to their aid. But they arrived too late. Friarius had imprudently ventured a battle, in which Mithridates defeated him, and killed him seven thousand men; amongst whom were reckoned an hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes †, which made this one of the greatest losses the Romans had sustained a great while. The army had been entirely defeated, but for a wound Mithridates received, which exceedingly alarmed his troops, and gave the enemy time to escape. Lucullus, upon his arrival, found the dead bodies upon the field of battle, and did not give orders for their interment: which still exasperated his soldiers more against him. The spirit of revolt rose so high, that without any regard for his character as general, they treated him no longer but with

* Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolis nunquam est ausus optare. Nam cum se in regnum recepisset suum, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acciderat, ut eam; postea quam pulsus erat, terram unquam attingeret: sed

in exercitum vestrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit.—*Cic. pro leg. Man. n. 25.*

† Quæ calamitas tanta fuit; ut eam ad aures L. Luculli, non ex prælio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. *Cic. ibid.*

insolence

insolence and contempt; and though he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man, to conjure them to march against Mithridates and Tigranes, he could never prevail upon them to quit the place where they were. They answered him brutally, that as he had no thoughts but of enriching himself alone out of the spoils of the enemy, he might march alone, and fight them if he thought fit.

S E C T. IV.

Mithridates, taking advantage of the misunderstanding, which had arose in the Roman army, recovers all his dominions. Pompey is chosen to succeed Lucullus. He overthrows Mithridates in several battles. The latter flies in vain to Tigranes his son-in-law for refuge, who is engaged in a war with his own son. Pompey marches into Armenia against Tigranes, who comes to him and surrenders himself. Weary of pursuing Mithridates to no purpose, he returns into Syria, makes himself master of that kingdom, and puts an end to the empire of the Seleucides. He marches back to Pontus. Pharnaces makes the army revolt against his father Mithridates, who kills himself. That prince's character. Pompey's expeditions into Arabia and Judæa, where he takes Jerusalem. After having reduced all the cities of Pontus, he returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph.

MANIUS Acilius Glabrio, and C. Piso, had been elected consuls at Rome. The first had Bithynia and Pontus for his province,
 VOL. X. M where

where Lucullus commanded. The senate, at the same time, disbanded Fimbria's legions, which were part of his army. All this news augmented the disobedience and insolence of the troops in regard to Lucullus.

Dion. Caf. It is true, his rough, austere, and frequently
L. 35. P. 7. haughty disposition, gave some room for such usage. He cannot be denied the glory of having been one of the greatest captains of his age; and of having had almost all the qualities that form a compleat general. But the want of one diminished the merit of all the rest: I mean, the address of winning the heart, and of making himself beloved by the soldiers. He was difficult of access, rough in commanding, carried exactitude, in point of duty, to an excess that made it odious, was inexorable in punishing offences, and did not know how to conciliate esteem by praises and rewards bestowed opportunely, an air of kindness and favour, or by insinuating manners, still more efficacious than either gifts or praises. And what proves, that the sedition of the troops was in a great measure his own fault, was their being very docile and obedient under Pompey.

In consequence of the letters Lucullus wrote to the senate, in which he acquainted them, that Mithridates was entirely defeated, and utterly incapable of retrieving himself, commissioners had been nominated to regulate the affairs of Pontus, as of a kingdom totally reduced. They were much surprized to find, upon their arrival, that far from being master of Pontus, he was not so much as master of his army, and that his own soldiers treated him with the utmost contempt.

The arrival of the consul Acilius Glabrio still added to their licence. * He informed them, that Lucullus had been accused at Rome of protracting the war, in order to continue in command; that the senate had disbanded part of his troops, and forbid them paying him any further obedience. So that he soon found himself almost entirely abandoned by the soldiers. Mithridates, taking advantage of this disorder, had time to recover his whole kingdom, and to make great ravages in Cappadocia.

Whilst the affairs of the army were in this condition, great noise was made at Rome against Lucullus. Pompey was returned from putting an end to the war with the Pirates, in which an extraordinary power had been granted him. Upon this occasion, one of the Tribunes of the people, named Manilius, prepared a decree to this effect: "That Pompey, taking upon him the command of all the troops and provinces, which were under Lucullus, and adding to them Bithynia, where Acilius commanded, should be charged with making war upon the kings, Mithridates and Tigranes, retaining under him all the naval forces, and continuing to command at sea with the same conditions and prerogatives, as had been granted him in the war against the Pirates: that is to say, that he should have absolute power on all the coasts of the Mediterranean, to thirty leagues distance from the sea." This was, in effect, subjecting the whole Roman empire

* In ipso illo malo gravissimaque belli offensione, L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii

diuturnitati modum statuendum, veteri exemplo, putavit, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confecti erant, dimisit, partem Glabrio tradidit. *Ibid.* n. 26.

to one man. For all the provinces, which had not been granted him by the first decree, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia the higher, Colchis, and Armenia, were conferred upon him by this second, that included also all the armies and forces, with which Lucullus had defeated the two kings, Mithridates and Tigranes.

Consideration for Lucullus, who was deprived of the glory of his great exploits, and in the place of whom a general was appointed, to succeed more to the honours of his triumph, than the command of his armies, was not, however, what gave the nobility and senate most concern. They were well convinced, that great wrong was done him; and that his services were not treated with the gratitude they deserved: But what gave them most pain, and which they could not support, was that high degree of power, to which Pompey was raised, which they considered as a tyranny already formed. It is for this reason they exhorted each other, in a particular manner, to oppose this decree, and not abandon their expiring liberty.

Cæsar and Cicero, who were very powerful at Rome, supported Manilius, or rather Pompey, with all their credit. It was upon this occasion, the latter pronounced that fine oration before the people, intitled, *For the law of Manilius*. After having demonstrated in the two first parts of his discourse; the necessity and importance of the war in question, he proves in the third, that Pompey is the only person capable of terminating it successfully. For this purpose, he enumerates the qualities necessary to form a general of an army, and shews that Pompey possesses them all in a supreme degree.

H:

He insists principally upon his probity, humanity, innocence of manners, integrity, disinterestedness, love of the publick good: " Virtues, by so much the more necessary, says he, as the * Roman name is become infamous and hateful amongst foreign nations; and our allies, by the debauches, avarice, and unheard-of oppressions of the generals and magistrates we send amongst them. † Instead of which, the wise, moderate, and irreproachable conduct of Pompey, will make him be regarded, not as sent from Rome, but descended from heaven, for the happiness of the people. We begin to believe, that all which is related of the noble disinterest of those antient Romans is real and true, and that it was not without reason, under such magistrates, that the nations chose rather to obey the Roman people, than to command others."

Pompey was at that time the idol of the people, wherefore the fear of displeasing the multitude kept those grave senators silent, who had appeared so well inclined, and so full of courage. The decree was authorized by the authority of all the tribes, and Pompey, though

* Difficile est dictu, Quirites quanto in odio sumus apud cæteros nationes, propter eorum, quos ad eas hoc anno cum imperio misimus, injurias ac libidines. *Nym.* 61.

† Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis Cn. Pompeium, sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de cælo delapsum intuentur. Nunc denique incipiunt credere

fuisse homines Romanos hac quondam abstinentiâ, quod jam nationibus ceteris incredibile, ac falso memoriæ proditum, videbatur. Nunc imperii nostri splendor illis gentibus lucet: nunc intelligunt, non sine causâ majores suos tum, cum hac temperantiâ magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis maluisse. *Ibid.*

n. 41.

absent, declared absolute master of almost all Sylla had usurped by arms, and by making a cruel war upon his country.

Dio. Cass. We must not imagine, says a very judicious
 l. 36. P. historian, that either Cæsar or Cicero, who
 20, 21. took so much pains to have this law passed, acted with the view of the publick good. Cæsar, full of ambition and great projects, endeavoured to make his court to the people, whose authority he knew was at that time much greater than the senate's: he thereby opened himself a way to the same power, and familiarized the Romans to extraordinary and unlimited commissions: in heaping upon the head of Pompey so many favours and glaring distinctions, he flattered himself, that he should at length render him odious to the people, who would soon take offence at them. So that in lifting him up, he had no other design than to prepare a precipice for him. Cicero also intended only his own greatness. It was his weakness to desire to lord it in the republick, not indeed by guilt and violence, but by the method of persuasion. Besides his having the support of Pompey's credit in view, he was very well pleased with shewing the nobility and people, who formed two parties, and in a manner two republicks in the state, that he was capable of making the balance incline to the side he espoused. In consequence, it was always his policy to manage equally both parties, in declaring sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other.

A M. Pompey, who had lately terminated the war
 3938 with the Pirates, was still in Cilicia, when he
 Ant. J. C. received letters to inform him of all the people
 66. had decreed in his favour. When his friends,
 Plut. in Pomp p. who were present, congratulated him, and ex-
 634 636 pressed

pressed their joy, it is said, that he knit his Dio. Cass. l. 36. p. 22—25. Appian. p. 238.
 brows, struck his thigh, and cried out as if
 oppressed and sorry for that new command;
Gods, what endless labours am I devoted to? Had I not been more happy in being a man unknown and inglorious? Shall I never cease to make war, nor ever have my arms off my back? Shall I never escape the envy that persecutes me, nor live at peace in the country with my wife and children?

This is frequently the language of the ambitious, and even those who are most excessively actuated by the love of power. But however successful they may be in imposing upon themselves, it seldom happens that they deceive others, and the publick is far from mistaking them. The friends of Pompey, and even those, who were most intimate with him, could not support his dissimulation at this time. For there was not one of them, who did not know, that his natural ambition and passion for command, still more inflamed by his difference with Lucullus, made him find a more exalted and sensible satisfaction from the new charge conferred upon him. And his actions soon took off the mask, and explained his real sentiments.

The first step which he took upon arriving in the provinces of his government, was to forbid any obedience whatsoever to the orders of Lucullus. In his march, he altered every thing his predecessor had decreed. He discharged some from the penalties Lucullus had laid upon them; deprived others of the rewards he had given them; in short, his sole view in every thing, was to let the partisans of Lucullus see, that they adhered to a man, who had neither authority nor power. Strabo's uncle by the mother's side, highly discontented with Mithridates, for having put to death several of his Strab. l. 12. p. 557, 558.

relations, to avenge himself for that cruelty, had gone over to Lucullus, and had given up fifteen places in Cappadocia to him. Lucullus loaded him with honours, and promised to reward him as such considerable services deserved. Pompey, far from having any regard to those just and reasonable engagements, which his predecessor had taken solely from the view of the publick good, affected an universal opposition to them, and looked upon all those as his enemies, who had contracted any friendship with Lucullus.

It is not uncommon for a successor to endeavour to lessen the value of his predecessor's actions, in order to arrogate all honour to himself; but certainly none ever carried that conduct to such monstrous excess, as Pompey did at this time. His great qualities and innumerable conquests are exceedingly extolled; but so base and odious a jealousy ought to fully, or rather totally eclipse the glory of them. Such was the manner in which Pompey thought fit to begin.

Lucullus made bitter complaints of him. Their common friends, in order to a reconciliation, concerted an interview between them. It passed at first with all possible politeness, and with reciprocal marks of esteem and amity. But these were only compliments, and a language that extended no farther than the lips, which costs the great nothing. The heart soon explained itself. The conversation growing warm by degrees, they proceeded to injurious terms; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with his avarice, and Lucullus Pompey with his ambition; in which they spoke the truth of themselves. They parted more incensed against each other, and greater enemies than before.

Lucullus

Lucullus set out for Rome, whither he carried a great quantity of books, which he had collected in his conquests. He put them into a library, which was open to all the learned and curious, whom it drew about him in great numbers. They were received at his house with all possible politeness and generosity. The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucullus ; but not without being long contested.

It was he that first brought cherries to Rome, Plin. l. 15. c. 25. which till then had been unknown in Europe. They were called Cerasus, from a city of that name in Cappadocia.

Pompey began, by engaging Phraates king of the Parthians in the Roman interest. He has been spoken of already, and is the same, who was surnamed *the God*. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with him. He offered peace also to Mithridates ; but that prince, believing himself sure of the amity and aid of Phraates, would not so much as hear it mentioned. When he was informed, that Pompey had prevented him, he sent to treat with him. But Pompey having demanded, by way of preliminary, that he should lay down his arms, and give up all deserters : those proposals were very near occasioning a mutiny in Mithridates's army. As there were abundance of deserters in it, they could not suffer any thing to be said upon delivering them up to Pompey ; nor would the rest of the army consent to see themselves weakened by the loss of their comrades. Mithridates was obliged to tell them, that he had sent his ambassadors only to inspect into the condition of the Roman army ; and to swear, that he would not make peace with the Romans, either on those or on any other conditions.

Pompey,

Pompey, having distributed his fleet in different stations, to guard the whole sea between Phoenicia and the Bosphorus, marched by land against Mithridates, who had still thirty thousand foot, and two or three thousand horse; but did not dare, however, to come to a battle. That prince was encamped very strongly upon a mountain; where he could not be forced, but he abandoned it on Pompey's approach, for want of water. Pompey immediately took possession of it, and conjecturing from the nature of the plants, and other signs, that there was abundance of springs within it, he ordered wells to be dug, and in an instant the camp had water in abundance. Pompey could not sufficiently wonder how Mithridates, for want of attention and curiosity, had been so long ignorant of so important and necessary a resource.

150 *Stadia.*

Soon after he followed him, encamped near him, and shut him up within good walls, which he carried quite round his camp. They were almost eight leagues in circumference, and were fortified with good towers, at proper distances from each other. Mithridates, either through fear or negligence, suffered him to finish his works. He did in effect reduce him to such a want of provisions, that his troops were obliged to subsist upon the carriage-beasts in their camp. The horses only were spared. After having sustained this kind of siege for almost fifty days, Mithridates escaped by night with all the best troops of his army. He first ordered all the useless and sick persons to be killed.

Pompey immediately pursued him, came up with him near the Euphrates, encamped near him; and apprehending, that in order to escape,

he would make haste to pass the river, he quitted his entrenchments, and advanced against him by night, in order of battle. His design then was only to surround the enemy, to prevent their flying, and to attack them at day-break the next morning. But all his old officers made such entreaties and remonstrances to him, that they determined him to fight without waiting till day; for the night was not very dark, the moon giving light enough for distinguishing objects, and knowing one another. Pompey could not refuse himself to the ardour of his troops, and led them on against the enemy. The Barbarians were afraid to stand the attack, and fled immediately in the utmost consternation. The Romans made a great slaughter of them, killed them above ten thousand men, and took their whole camp.

Mithridates, with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the battle, opened himself a way sword in hand through the Roman army, and went off. But those eight hundred horse soon quitted their ranks and dispersed, and left him with only three followers; of which number was Hypsicratia, one of his wives, a woman of masculine courage and warlike boldness; which occasioned her being called Hypsicrates, by *Ultra* changing the termination of her name from *minam* the feminine to the masculine. Upon that day *ferox.* she was mounted upon a Persian horse, and *Tacit.* wore the habit of a foldier of that nation. She always accompanied the king, without giving way to the fatigues of his long journies, or being weary of serving him; tho' she took care of his horse herself, till they arrived at a fortress, where the king's treasures, and most precious effects lay. There, after having distributed the most magnificent of his robes to such as were assembled

assembled about him, he made a present to each of his friends of a mortal poison; in order that none of them might fall alive into the hands of their enemies, but by their own consent.

Plut. in

Pomp. p.

636, 637.

Appian.

p. 242.

Dio. Cass.

l. 36. p.

25, 26.

An hundred thousand crowns.

That unhappy fugitive saw no other hopes for him, but from his son-in-law Tigranes. He sent ambassadors to demand his permission to take refuge in his dominions, and aid for the re-establishment of his entirely ruined affairs. Tigranes was at that time at war with his son. He caused those ambassadors to be seized, and thrown into prison; and set a price upon his father-in-law's head, promising an hundred talents to whomsoever should seize or kill him; under pretence, that it was Mithridates, who had made his son take up arms against him; but in reality to make his court to the Romans, as we shall soon see.

Pompey, after the victory he had gained, marched into Armenia major against Tigranes. He found him at war with his son of his own name. We have observed, that the king of Armenia had espoused Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates. He had three sons by her, two of whom he had put to death without reason. The third, to escape the cruelty of so unnatural a father, had fled to Phraates king of Parthia, whose daughter he had married. His father-in-law carried him back to Armenia at the head of an army, where they besieged Artaxata. But finding the place very strong, and provided with every thing necessary for a good defence, Phraates left him part of the army to carry on the siege, and returned with the rest into his own dominions. Tigranes the father, soon after fell upon the son with all his troops, beat his army, and drove him out of the country. That young prince, after this misfortune, had

had designed to withdraw to his grandfather Mithridates. But on the way was informed of his defeat, and having lost all hope of obtaining aid from him, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Romans. Accordingly, he entered their camp, and went to Pompey to implore his protection. Pompey gave him a very good reception, and was glad of his coming; for being to carry the war into Armenia, he had occasion for such a guide as him. He therefore caused that prince to conduct him directly to Artaxata.

Tigranes, terrified at this news, and sensible that he was not in a condition to oppose so powerful an army, resolved to have recourse to the generosity and clemency of the Roman general. He put the ambassadors, sent to him by Mithridates, into his hands, and followed them directly himself. Without taking any precaution, he entered the Roman camp, and went to submit his person and crown to the discretion of Pompey and the Romans. * He said, that of all the Romans, and of all mankind, Pompey was the only person on whose faith he could confide; that in whatsoever manner he should decide his fate, he would be satisfied: that he was not ashamed to be conquered by a man, whom none could conquer; and that it was no dishonour to submit to him, whom fortune had made superiour to all others.

* Mox ipse supplex & præsens se regnumque ditioni ejus permisit, præfatus: neminem alium neque Romanum neque ullius gentis virum futurum fuisse, ejus se fidei commissurus foret, quam Cn. Pompejum. Proinde omnem sibi vel adversam vel secun-

dam, cujus auctor ille esset, fortunam tolerabilem futuram. Non esse turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset nefas: neque ei inhonestè aliquem submitti, quem fortuna super omes extulisset. *Vel. Patere. l. 2. c. 37.*

When

When he arrived on horseback near the entrenchments of the camp, two of Pompey's lictors came out to meet him, and ordered him to dismount and enter on foot; telling him, that no stranger had been ever known to enter a Roman camp on horseback. Tigranes obeyed, and ungirt his sword, gave it to the lictors; and after, when he approached Pompey, taking off his diadem, he would have laid it at his feet, and prostrated himself to the earth to embrace his knees. But Pompey ran to prevent him, and taking him by the hand, carried him into his tent, made him sit on the right, and his son, the young Tigranes, on the left side of him. He after referred hearing what he had to say to the next day, and invited the father and son to sup with him that evening. The son refused to be there with his father; and as he had not shewed him the least mark of respect during the interview, and had treated him with the same indifference, as if he had been a stranger, Pompey was very much offended at that behaviour. He did not, however, entirely neglect his interests in determining upon the affair of Tigranes. After having condemned Tigranes to pay the Romans six thousand talents for the charges of the war, he had made upon them without cause, and to relinquish to them all his conquests on that side of the Euphrates, he decreed, that that prince should reign in his antient kingdom Armenia major, and that his son should have Gordiana and Sophena, two provinces upon the borders of Armenia, during his father's life, and all the rest of his dominions after his death; reserving, however, to the father, the treasures he had in Sophena; without which it had been impossible

*Eighteen
millions of
livres.*

impossible for him to have paid the Romans the sum Pompey required of him.

The father was well satisfied with those conditions, which still left him a crown. But the son, who had got chimæras in his head, could not relish a decree, which deprived him of what had been promised him. He was even so much discontented with it, that he wanted to escape, in order to have excited new troubles. Pompey, who suspected his design, ordered him to be always kept in view; and when he saw, that he absolutely refused to consent that his father should withdraw his treasures from Sophena, he caused him to be put into prison. Afterwards having discovered, that he solicited the Armenian nobility to take up arms, and endeavoured to engage the Parthians to do the same, he placed him amongst those he reserved for his triumph.

Some time after, Phraates king of the Parthians, sent to Pompey, to claim that young prince as his son-in-law; and to represent to him, that he ought to make the Euphrates the boundary of his conquests. Pompey made answer, That the younger Tigranes was more nearly related to his father than his father-in-law; and that as to his conquests, he should give them such bounds as reason and justice required; but without being prescribed them by any one.

When Tigranes had been suffered to possess himself of his treasures in Sophena, he paid the six thousand talents, and besides that, gave every private soldier fifty drachmas, a thousand to a centurion, and ten thousand to each * tribune; ^{25 livres.} ^{* 5000.} and by that liberality obtained the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. That had been pardonable in him, had he not joined with

with it abject behaviour and submissions unworthy of a king.

Pompey gave all Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added to it Sophœna and Gordiana, which he had designed for young Tigranes.

Plut. in
Pomp.

p. 637.

Dio. Cass.

l. 36. p.

28—33.

App. p.

24—245.

After having regulated every thing in Armenia, Pompey marched northward in pursuit of Mithridates. Upon the banks of the * Cyrus he found the Albanians and Iberians, two powerful nations, situate between the Caspian and Euxine seas, who endeavoured to stop him : but he beat them, and obliged the Albanians to demand peace. He granted it, and passed the winter in their country.

A. M.

3939.

Ant. J. C.

65.

The next year he took the field very early against the Iberians. This was a very warlike nation, and had never been conquered. It had always retained its liberty, during the time that the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians, had alternately possessed the empire of Asia. Pompey found means to subdue this people, though not without very considerable difficulties, and obliged them to demand peace. The king of the Iberians sent him a bed, a table, and a throne all of massy gold ; desiring him to accept those presents as earnest of his amity. Pompey put them into the hands of the questors, for the publick treasury. He also subjected the people of Colchis, and made their king Othaces prisoner, whom he afterwards led in triumph. From thence he returned into Albania, to chastise that nation for having taken up arms again, whilst he was engaged with the Iberians and people of Colchis.

The army of the Albanians was commanded by Cotis, the brother of king Orôdes. That prince, as soon as the two armies came to blows,

* Called *Cyrnus* also by some authors.

confined

confined himself to Pompey, and running upon him, darted his javelin at him. But Pompey received him so vigorously with his javelin, that it went through his body, and laid him dead at his horse's feet. The Albanians were overthrown, and a great slaughter was made of them. This victory obliged king Orodes to buy a second peace, upon the same terms with that he had made with the Romans the preceding year ; at the price of great presents, and by giving one of his son's as an hostage for his observing it better than he had done the former.

Mithridates, in the mean time, had passed the winter at Dioscurias, in the north-east of the Euxine sea. Early in the spring he marched to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, through several nations of the Scythians, some of which suffered him to pass voluntarily, and others were obliged to it by force. This kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus is the same now called Crim-Tartary, and was at that time a province of Mithridates's empire. He had given it as an appanage to his son named Machares. But that young prince had been so vigorously handled by the Romans, whilst they besieged Sinope and their fleet was in possession of the Euxine sea, which lay between that city and his kingdom, that he had been obliged to make a peace with them, which he had inviolably observed till then. He well knew that his father was extremely displeased with such conduct, and therefore very much apprehended his presence. In order to a reconciliation, he sent ambassadors to him upon his route ; who represented to him, that he had been reduced to act in that manner, contrary to his inclination, by the necessity of his affairs. But finding that his father would not hearken to his reasons, he

endeavoured to save himself by sea, and was taken by vessels sent expressly by Mithridates to cruise in his way. He chose rather to die than fall into his father's hands.

Appian. in
Syr. p.
133.
Justin.
l. 40. c. 2.

Pompey having terminated the war in the north, and seeing it impossible to follow Mithridates in the remote country to which he had retired, led back his army to the south, and on his march, subjected Darius king of the Medes, and Antiochus king of Comagena. He went on to Syria, and made himself master of the whole empire. Scaurus reduced Cœlo-Syria and Damascus, and Gabinius all the rest of the country, as far as the Tygris; they were his lieutenant-generals. Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes, heir of the house of the Seleucides, who by Lucullus's permission had reigned four years in part of that country, of which he had taken possession, when Tigranes abandoned it, came to sollicite him to re-establish him upon the throne of his ancestors. But Pompey refused to give him audience, and deprived him of all his dominions, which he made a Roman province. Thus whilst Tigranes was left in possession of Armenia, who had done the Romans great hurt, during the course of a long war, Antiochus was dethroned, who had never committed the least hostility, and by no means deserved such treatment. The reason given for it was, that the Romans had conquered Syria under Tigranes; that it was not just that they should lose the fruit of their victory; that Antiochus was a prince, who had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for the defence of the country: and that to put it into his hands, would be to expose it to the perpetual ravages and incursions of the Jews, which Pompey took care not to do.

do. In consequence of this way of reasoning, Antiochus lost his crown, and was reduced to the necessity of passing his life as a private person. In him ended the empire of the Seleucides, after a duration of almost two hundred and fifty years. A. M. 3939.
Ant. J. C. 65.

During these expeditions of the Romans in Asia, great revolutions happened in Egypt. The Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms, and after having expelled him, called in Ptolomæus Auletes to supply his place. That history will be treated at large in the ensuing article.

Pompey afterwards went to Damascus, where he regulated several affairs relating to Egypt and Judæa. During his residence there, twelve crowned heads went thither to make their court to him, and were all in the city at the same time. Plut. in Pomp. p. 638, 639.

A fine contention between the love of a father, and the duty of a son, was seen at this time: a very extraordinary contest in those days, when the most horrid murders and parricides frequently opened the way to thrones. Ariobarzanes king of the Cappadocians, voluntarily resigned the crown in favour of his son, and put the diadem on his head in the presence of Pompey. The most sincere tears flowed in abundance from the eyes of the truly afflicted son, for what others would have highly rejoiced. It was the sole occasion in which he thought disobedience allowable; and he would have * persisted in refusing the scepter, if Pompey's orders had not interfered, and obliged Val. Max. l. 5. c. 7.

* Nec ullum finem tam egregium certamen habuisset nisi patriæ voluntati auctoritas Pompeii adfuisset. *Valer. Max.*

him at length to submit to paternal authority. This is the second example Cappadocia has instanced of so generous a dispute. We have spoken in its place of the like contest between the two Ariarathes.

As Mithridates was in possession of several strong places in Pontus and Cappadocia, Pompey judged it necessary to return thither, in order to reduce them. He made himself master of almost all of them, in effect, upon his arrival, and afterwards wintered at Apsis, a city of Pontus.

Stratonice, one of Mithridates's wives, surrendered a castle of the Bosphorus, which she had in her keeping, to Pompey, with the treasures concealed in it, demanding only for recompence, that if her son Xiphares should fall into his hands, he should be restored to her. Pompey accepted only such of those presents, as would serve for the ornaments of temples. When Mithridates knew what Stratonice had done, to revenge her facility in surrendring that fortress, which he considered as a treason, he killed Xiphares in his mother's sight, who beheld that sad spectacle from the other side of the Strait.

Caina, or the new city, was the strongest place in Pontus; and therefore Mithridates kept the greatest part of his treasures, and whatever he had, of greatest value, in that place, which he conceived impregnable. Pompey took it, and with it all that Mithridates had left in it. Amongst other things were found secret memoirs, wrote by himself, which gave a very good light into his character. In one part he had noted down the persons he had poisoned, amongst whom were his own son Ariarathes, and Alcæus of Sardis; the latter, because he had carried the prize in the chariot-race against him.

him. What fantastical records were these! Was he afraid that the publick and posterity should not be informed of his monstrous crimes, and his motives for committing them?

His memoirs of physick were also found there, P. in. l. 25. which Pompey caused to be translated into Latin by Lenæus, a good Grammarian, one of his freed-men; and they were afterwards made publick in that language. For amongst the other extraordinary qualities of Mithridates, he had that of being very skillful in medicines. It was he, who invented the excellent antidote, which still bears his name, and from which physicians have experienced such effects, that they continue to use it successfully to this day.

Pompey, during his stay at Aspis, made such A. M. regulations in the affairs of the country, as the 3940. state of them would admit. As soon as the Ant. J. C. spring returned, he marched back into Syria, 64. for the same purpose. He did not think it advisable to pursue Mithridates in the kingdom Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 5, 6. of Bosphorus, whither he was returned. To do that, he must have marched round the Euxine sea with an army, and passed through many Plut. in Pomp. p. 639 - 641 countries, either inhabited by barbarous nations, or entirely desert; a very dangerous enterprise, in which he would have run great Dion. Caf. l. 37. p. 34. risque of perishing. So that all Pompey could do, was to post the Roman fleet in such a manner, as to intercept any convoys, that might be sent to Mithridates. He believed, by that means, he should be able to reduce him to the last extremity; and said, on setting out, that he left Mithridates more formidable enemies than the Romans, which were hunger and necessity.

What carried him with so much ardor into Syria, was his excessive and vain-glorious ambition to push his conquests as far as the red sea. In Spain, and before that in Africa, he had carried the Roman arms as far as the western ocean on both sides of the straits of the Mediterranean. In the war against the Albanians, he had extended his conquests to the Caspian sea, and believed, there was nothing wanting to his glory, but to push them on as far as the red sea. Upon his arrival in Syria, he declared Antioch and Seleucia upon the Orontus free cities, and continued his march towards Damascus; from whence he designed to have gone on against the Arabians, and afterwards to have conquered all the countries to the red sea. But an accident happened, which obliged him to suspend all his projects, and to return into Pontus.

Some time before, an embassy came to him from Mithridates, king of Pontus, who demanded peace. He proposed, that he should be suffered to retain his hereditary dominions, as Tigranes had been, upon condition of paying a tribute to the Romans, and resigning all other provinces. Pompey replied; that he should then come in person as Tigranes had done. Mithridates could not consent to such a meanness, but proposed sending his children, and some of his principal friends. Pompey would not agree to that. The negotiation broke up, and Mithridates applied himself to making preparations for war with as much vigour as ever. Pompey, who received advice of this activity, judged it necessary to be upon the place, in order to have an eye to every thing. For that purpose he went to pass some time at Amisus, the antient capital of the country.

There,

There, through the just punishment of the gods, says Plutarch, his ambition made him commit faults, which drew upon him the blame of all the world. He had publickly charged and reproached Lucullus; that subsisting the war, he had disposed of provinces, given rewards, decreed honours, and acted in all things, as victors are not accustomed to act, till a war be finally terminated; and now fell into the same inconsistency himself. For he disposed of governments, and divided the dominions of Mithridates into provinces, as if the war had been at an end. But Mithridates still lived, and every thing was to be apprehended from a prince inexhaustible in resources, whom the greatest defeats could not disconcert, and whom losses themselves seemed to inspire with new courage, and to augment his strength: at that very time, when he was believed to be entirely ruined, he actually meditated a terrible invasion into the very heart of the Roman empire, with the troops he had lately raised.

Pompey, in the distribution of rewards, gave Armenia minor to Dejotarus, prince of Galatia, who had always continued firmly attached to the Roman interests during this war, to which he added the title of king. It was this Dejotarus, who by always persisting, out of gratitude, in his adherence to Pompey, incurred the resentment of Cæsar, and had occasion for the eloquence of Cicero in his defence.

He made Archelaus also high-priest of the moon, who was the supreme goddess of the Comanians, and gave him the sovereignty of the place, which contained at least six thousand persons, all devoted to the worship of that deity. I have already observed, that this Archelaus was the son of him, who had commanded

in chief the troops sent by Mithridates into Greece, in his first war with the Romans, and who being disgraced by that prince, had, with his son, taken refuge amongst them. They had always, from that time, continued their firm adherents, and had been of great use to them in the wars of Asia. The father being dead, the high-priesthood of Comana was given to the son, in recompence for the services of both.

During Pompey's stay in Pontus, Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea, took the advantage of his absence, to make incursions into Syria, to the great distress of that country. Pompey returned thither. Upon his way he came to the place where lay the dead bodies of the Romans, killed in the defeat of Triarius. He caused them to be interred with great solemnity, which gained him the hearts of his soldiers. From thence Pompey continued his march towards Syria, with the view of executing the projects he had formed for the war of Arabia: but important advices prevented his proceeding.

Though Mithridates had lost all hopes of peace, after Pompey had rejected the overtures he had caused to be made to him; and though he saw many of his subjects abandon his party, far from losing courage, he had formed the design of crossing Pannonia, and passing the Alps to attack the Romans in Italy itself, as Hannibal had done before him: a project more bold than prudent, with which his inveterate hatred and blind despair had inspired him. A great number of neighbouring Scythians had entered themselves in his service, and considerably augmented his army. He had sent deputies into Gaul to sollicit that people to join him,

him, when he should approach the Alps. As great passions are always credulous, and men easily flatter themselves in what they ardently desire, he was in hopes that the heat of revolt amongst the slaves in Italy and Sicily, perhaps ill extinguished, might suddenly rekindle upon his presence: that the Pirates would repossess themselves of the empire of the sea, and involve the Romans in new difficulties; and that the provinces oppressed by the avarice and cruelty of the magistrates and generals, would be fond of throwing off the yoke by his means, under which they had so long groaned. Such were the thoughts that he revolved in his mind.

But as to execute this project, it was necessary to march five hundred leagues, and traverse the countries, now called little Tartary, Moldavia, Walachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Stiria, Carinthia, Tirol, and Lombardy, and pass three great rivers, the Borysthenes, Danube, and the Po: the idea only of so rude and dangerous a march, threw his army into such a terror, that to prevent the execution of his design, they conspired against him, and chose Pharnaces his son king; who had been active in exciting the soldiers to this revolt. Mithridates then, seeing himself abandoned by all the world, and that even his son would not suffer him to escape where he could, retired to his apartment, and after having given poison to such of his wives and daughters, as were with him at that time, he took the same himself; but when he perceived, that it had not its effect upon him, he had recourse to his sword. The wound he gave himself not sufficing, he was obliged to desire a Gaulish soldier

dier to put an end to his life. Dion says, he was killed by his own son.

A. M.

3941.

Ant. J. C.

63.

Mithridates had reigned sixty years, and lived seventy two. His greatest fear was to fall into the hands of the Romans, and to be led in triumph. To prevent that misfortune, he always carried poison about him, in order to escape that way, if other means should fail. The apprehension he was in, lest his son should deliver him up to Pompey, occasioned his taking the fatal resolution he executed so suddenly. It was generally said, the reason that the poison did not kill him, was his having taken antidotes so much, that his constitution was proof against it. But this is believed an error, and that it is impossible any remedy should be an universal antidote against all the different species of poison.

Pompey was at Jericho in Palestine, whither the differences, between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, of which we have spoken elsewhere, had carried him, when he received the first news of Mithridates's death. It was brought him, by expressses dispatched on purpose from Pontus, with letters from his Lieutenants. Those expressses arriving with their lances crowned with lawrels, which was customary only when they brought advice of some victory, or news of great importance and advantage; the army was very eager and solicitous to know what it was. As they had only began to form their camp, and had not erected the tribunal, from which the general harangued the troops, without staying to raise one of turf, as was usual, because that would take up too much time, they made one of the packs of their carriage-horses, upon which Pompey mounted without ceremony. He acquainted them with the death
of

of Mithridates, and the manner of his killing himself; that his son Pharnaces submitted himself and dominions to the Romans; and that thereby that tedious war, which had endured so long, was at length terminated. This gave both the army and general great subject to rejoice.

Such was the end of Mithridates; a prince, says * an historian, of whom it is difficult either to speak or be silent: full of activity in war, of distinguished courage; sometimes very great by fortune, and always of invincible resolution; truly a general in his prudence and counsel, and a soldier in action and danger; a second Hannibal in his hatred of the Romans.

Cicero says of Mithridates, that after Alexander he was the greatest of kings: *Ille rex* Academ. *post Alexandrum maximus.* It is certain, that Quæst. the Romans never had such a king in arms a-l. 4. n. 8. gainst them. Nor can we deny that he had his great qualities, a vast extent of mind, that aspired at every thing; a superiority of genius, capable of the greatest undertakings; a constancy of soul, that the severest misfortunes could not depress; an industry and bravery, inexhaustible in resources, and which, after the greatest losses, brought him again upon the stage on a sudden, more powerful and formidable than ever. I cannot, however, believe, that he was a consummate general; that character does not seem to result from his actions. He obtained great advantages at first; but against generals, without either merit or experience. When

* Vir neque filendus neque dicendus sine cura: bello acerrimus, virtute eximius: aliquando fortuna semper animo maximus: consiliis dux, miles manu: odio in Romanos Annibal. *Vel. Patern.* l. 2. c. 18.

Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey opposed him, it does not appear that he acquired any great honour, either by his address in posting himself to advantage, by his presence of mind in unexpected emergency, or intrepidity in the heat of action. But should we admit him to have all the qualities of a great captain; he could not but be considered with horror, when we reflect upon the innumerable murders and parricides of his reign, and that inhuman cruelty, which regarded neither mother, wives, children, nor friends, and which sacrificed every thing to his insatiable ambition.

Pompey being arrived in Syria, went directly to Damascus, with design to set out from thence, to begin at length the war with Arabia. When Aretas, the king of that country, saw him upon the point of entering his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submissions.

The troubles of Judæa employed Pompey some time. He returned afterwards into Syria, from whence he set out for Pontus. Upon his arrival at Amisus, he found the body of Mithridates there, which Pharnaces his son had sent to him; no doubt, to convince Pompey by his own eyes, of the death of an enemy, who had occasioned him so many difficulties and fatigues. He had added great presents, in order to incline him in his favour. Pompey accepted the presents; but for the body of Mithridates, looking upon their enmity to be extinguished in death, he did it all the honours due to the remains of a king, sent it to the city of Sinope, to be interred there with the kings of Pontus his ancestors, who had long been buried in that place, and ordered the sums that were necessary for the solemnity of a royal funeral.

In this last journey he took possession of all the places in the hands of those, to whom Mithridates had confided them. He found immense riches in some of them, especially at Tellauros, where part of Mithridates's most valuable effects and precious jewels were kept; his principal Arsenal was also in the same place. Amongst those rich things were two thousand cups of onyx, set and adorned with gold; with so prodigious a quantity of all kinds of plate, fine moveables, and furniture of war for man and horse, that it cost the questor, or treasurer of the army, thirty days entire in taking the inventory of them.

Pompey granted Pharnaces the kingdom of Bosphorus, in reward of his parricide; declared him friend and ally of the Roman people; and marched into the province of Asia, in order to winter at Ephesus. He gave each of his soldiers fifteen hundred drachmas, (seven hundred and fifty livres) and to the officers according to their several posts. The total sum, to which his liberalities amounted, all raised out of the spoils of the enemy, was sixteen thousand talents; that is to say, forty eight millions of livres; besides which, he had twenty thousand more, (sixty millions) to put into the treasury at Rome, upon the day of his entry.

His triumph continued two days, and was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence. Pompey caused three hundred and twenty-four captives of the highest distinction to march before his chariot: amongst whom were Aristobulus, king of Judæa, with his son Antigonus; Olthaces king of Colchos; Tigranes, the son of Tigranes king of Armenia; the sister; five sons, and two daughters of Mithridates. For want of that king's person, his throne, scepter,

A. M.

3943.

Ant. J. C.

61.

scepter, and gold busto of eight cubits, or twelve feet, in height, were carried in triumph.

ARTICLE II.

THIS second article contains the history of thirty-five years, from the beginning of the reign of Ptolomæus Auletes, to the death of Cleopatra, with which ended the kingdom of Egypt: that is to say, from the year of the world 3939, to 3974.

SECT. I.

Ptolomæus Auletes had been placed upon the throne of Egypt in the room of Alexander. He is stiled the friend and ally of the Roman people, by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey, which he purchased at a very great price. In consequence he loads his subjects with imposts. He is expelled the throne. The Alexandrians make his daughter Berenice queen. He goes to Rome, and by money obtains the voices of the beads of the republick for his re-establishment. He is opposed by an oracle of the Sibyl's; notwithstanding which, Gabinius sets him upon the throne by force of arms, where he remains till his death. The famous Cleopatra, and her brother very young, succeed him.

WE have seen in what manner Ptolomæus Auletes ascended the throne of Egypt. C. Alexander, his predecessor, upon his being expelled by his subjects, withdrew to Tyre, where he died some time after. As he left no issue,
nor

nor any other legitimate prince of the blood royal, he made the Roman people his heirs. The senate, for the reasons I have repeated elsewhere, did not judge it proper at that time, to take possession of the dominions left them by Alexander's will : but to shew that they did not renounce their right, they resolved to call in part of the inheritance, and sent deputies to Tyre, to demand a sum of money left there by that king at his death.

The pretensions of the Roman people were under no restrictions ; and it had been a very unsecure establishment to possess a State, to which they believed they had so just a claim ; unless some means were found to make them renounce it. All the kings of Egypt had been friends and allies of Rome. To get himself declared an ally by the Romans, was a certain means to his being authentically acknowledged king of Egypt by them. But by how much the more important that qualification was to him, so much the more difficult was it for him to obtain it. His predecessor's will was still fresh in the memory of every body ; and as princes are seldom pardoned for defects, which do not suit their condition, though they are often spared for those that are much more hurtful, the surname of *player on the flute*, which he had drawn upon himself, had ranked him as low in the esteem of the Romans, as before in that of the Egyptians.

He did not, however, despair of success in Sueton. in his undertaking. All the methods, which he ^{Jul. Cæs.} took for the attainment of his end, were a ^{c. 54.} long time ineffectual ; and it is likely they ^{Dio. C.} would always have been so, if Cæsar had never ^{l. 39. p.} been consul. That ambitious spirit, who be- ^{Strab.} lieved all means and expedients just that con- ^{P. 75} duced

duced to his ends, being immensely in debt, and finding that king disposed to merit by money what he could not obtain by right, sold him the alliance of Rome, as dearly as he was willing to buy it; and received for the purchase, as well for himself as for Pompey, whose credit was necessary to him, for obtaining the peoples consent, almost six thousand talents, that is to say, almost eighteen millions of livres. At this price he was declared friend and ally of the Roman people.

A. M.

3946.

Ant. J. C.

58.

Though that prince's yearly revenues were twice the amount of this sum, he could not immediately raise the money, without exceedingly over-taxing his subjects. They were already highly discontented by his not claiming the isle of Cyprus, as an antient appanage of Egypt, and in case of refusal, declaring war against the Romans. In this disposition, the extraordinary imposts he was obliged to exact, having finally exasperated them, they rose with so much violence, that he was forced to fly for the security of his life. He concealed his route so well, that the Egyptians either believed, or feigned to believe, that he had perished. They declared Berenice, the eldest of his three daughters, queen, though he had two sons, because they were both much younger than her.

Plut. in

Cato, Utic.

p. 776.

Ptolomy, however, having landed at the isle of Rhodes, which was in his way to Rome, was informed that Cato, who, after his death, was called Cato of Utica, was also arrived there some time before. That prince, being glad of the opportunity to confer with him upon his own affairs, sent immediately to let him know his arrival; expecting that he would come directly to visit him. We may here see an instance of the Roman grandeur, or rather haughti-

haughtiness ; Cato ordered him to be told, that if he had any thing to say to him, he might come to him if he thought fit. Cato did not vouchsafe so much as to rise, when Ptolemy entered his chamber, and saluting him only as a common man, bade him sit down. The king, though in some confusion upon this reception, could not but admire, how so much haughtiness and state could unite in the same person with the simplicity and modesty, that appeared in his habit and all his equipage. But he was very much surprized, when, upon explaining himself, Cato blamed him in direct terms, for quitting the finest kingdom in the world ; to go and expose himself to the pride and insatiable avarice of the Roman grandees, and to the suffering of a thousand indignities. He did not scruple to tell him, that though he should sell all Egypt, he would not have sufficient to satisfy their rapaciousness. He advised him therefore to return to Egypt, and reconcile himself with his subjects ; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and offering him his mediation and good offices.

Ptolemy, upon this discourse, recovered, as out of a dream, and having maturely considered what the wise Roman had told him, perceived the error he had committed, in quitting his kingdom, and entertained thoughts of returning to it. But the friends he had with him, being gained by Pompey to make him go to Rome, (one may easily guess with what views,) dissuaded him from following Cato's good counsel. He had time enough to repent it, when he found himself in that proud city reduced to sollicit his business from gate to gate, like a private person.

Dio. Cass. Cæsar, upon whom his principal hopes were
 l. 39. P. founded, was not at Rome: he was at that
 97, 98. time making war in Gaul. But Pompey, who
 Plin. l. 33. was there, gave him an apartment in his house,
 c. 10. and omitted nothing to serve him. Besides the
 Cic. ad money he had received from that prince, in
 Famil. conjunction with Cæsar, Ptolemy had afterwards
 Id. in Pi- cultivated his friendship by various services,
 so. n. 48— which he had rendered him during the war with
 Id. pro Mithridates, and had maintained eight thousand
 Cæl. n. 23, horse for him in that of Judæa. Having
 24. therefore made his complaint to the senate of
 the rebellion of his subjects, he demanded that
 they should oblige them to return to their obe-
 dience, as the Romans were engaged to do by
 the alliance granted him. Pompey's faction
 obtained him their compliance. The consul
 Lentulus, to whom Cilicia, separated from Egypt
 only by the coast of Syria, had fallen by lot,
 was charged with the re-establishment of Pto-
 lomy upon the throne.

A. M. But before his consulship expired, the E-
 3947. gyptians, having been informed that their king
 Ant. J. C. was not dead as they believed, and that he was
 57. gone to Rome, sent thither a solemn embassy,
 to justify their revolt before the senate. That
 embassy consisted of more than an hundred per-
 sons, of whom the chief was a celebrated phi-
 losopher, named Dion, who had considerable
 friends at Rome. Ptolemy having received
 advice of this, found means to destroy most of
 those ambassadors, either by poison or the
 sword, and intimidated those so much, whom
 he could neither corrupt nor kill, that they
 were afraid either to acquit themselves of their
 commission, or to demand justice for so many
 murders. But as all the world knew this cru-
 elty, it made him as highly odious as he was
 before

before contemptible: and his immense profusions, in gaining the poorest, and most self-interested senators, became so publick, that nothing else was talked of throughout the city.

So notorious a contempt of the laws, and such an excess of audacity, excited the indignation of all the persons of integrity in the senate. M. Favonius the stoick philosopher was the first, who declared himself in it against Ptolomy. Upon his request, it was resolved, that Dion should be ordered to attend, in order to their knowing the truth from his own mouth. But the king's party, composed of that of Pompey and Lentulus, of such as he had corrupted with money, and of those who had lent him sums to corrupt others, acted so openly in his favour, that Dion did not dare to appear; and Ptolomy, having caused him also to be killed some small time after, though he who did the murder was accused juridically, the king was discharged of it, upon maintaining, that he had just cause for the action.

Whether that prince thought, that nothing further at Rome demanded his presence, or apprehended receiving some affront, hated as he was, if he continued there any longer, he set out from thence some few days after, and retired to Ephesus, into the temple of the goddess, to wait there the decision of his destiny.

His affair, in effect, made more noise than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes of the people, named C. Cato, an active, enterprising young man, who did not want eloquence, declared himself, in frequent harangues, against Ptolomy and Lentulus, and was hearkened to by the people with singular pleasure, and extraordinary applause.

A. M.

3948.

Ant. J. C.

56.

In order to put a new scheme in motion, he waited till the new consuls were elected, and as soon as Lentulus had quitted that office, he produced to the people an oracle of the Sibyl's, which imported: *If a king of Egypt, having occasion for aid, applies to you, you shall not refuse him your amity: but however, you shall not give him any troops. For if you do, you will suffer and hazard much.*

The usual form was to communicate this kind of oracles first to the senate, in order that it might be examined, whether they were proper to be divulged. But Cato, apprehending, that the King's faction might occasion the passing a resolution there, to suppress this, which was so opposite to that prince, immediately presented the priests, with whom the sacred books were deposited to the people, and obliged them by the authority, which his office of tribune gave him, to expose what they had found in them to the publick, without demanding the senate's opinion.

This was a new stroke of thunder to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sibyl were too express, not to make all the impression upon the vulgar which their enemies desired. So that Lentulus, whose consulship was expired, not being willing to receive the affront to his face, of having the senate's decree revoked, by which he was appointed to reinstate Ptolemy, set out immediately for his province in quality of proconsul.

He was not deceived. Some days after, one of the new consuls, named Marcellinus, the declared enemy of Pompey, having proposed the oracle to the senate, it was decreed, that regard should be had to it, and that it appeared dangerous

dangerous for the republick to re-establish the king of Egypt by force.

We must not believe there was any person in the senate so simple, or rather so stupid, to have any faith in such an oracle. No body doubted, but that it had been contrived for the present conjuncture, and was the work of some secret intrigue of policy. But it had been published and approved in the assembly of the people, credulous and superstitious to excess, and the senate could pass no other judgment upon it.

This new incident obliged Ptolomy to change his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had too many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree, by which he had been commissioned for his re-establishment, and demanded by Ammonius his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission; because it not being possible to execute it with open force, upon account of the oracle, he judged with reason, that it was necessary to substitute in the room of force a person of great authority. And Pompey was at that time at the highest pitch of his glory, from his success in having destroyed Mithridates, the greatest and most powerful king Asia had seen after Alexander.

The affair was deliberated upon in the senate, and debated with great vivacity by the different parties that rose up in it. The difference of opinions caused several sittings to be lost without any determination. Cicero never

Cicer. ad
Fam. l. 1.
epist. 7.

quitted the interest of Lentulus his intimate friend, who during his consulship, had infinitely contributed to his being recalled from banishment. But what means was there to render him any service, in the condition things stood? And what could that præconsul do against

gainst a great kingdom, without using the force of arms, which was expressly forbid by the oracle? In this manner thought people of little wit and subtlety, that were not used to consider things in different lights. The oracle only prohibited giving the king any troops for his re-establishment. Could not Lentulus have left him in some place near the frontiers, and went, however, with a good army to besiege Alexandria. After he had taken it he might have returned, leaving a strong garrison in the place, and then sent the king thither, who would have found all things disposed for his reception without violence or troops. This was Cicero's advice; to confirm which, I shall repeat his own words, taken from a letter wrote by him at that time to Lentulus. "You are the best judge, says he, as you are master of Cilicia and Cyprus, of what you can undertake and effect. If it seems practicable for you to take Alexandria, and possess your self of the rest of Egypt, it is, without doubt, both for your own and the honour of the republick, that you should go thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king at Ptolemais, or in some other neighbouring place; in order, that after you have appeased the revolt, and left good garrisons where necessary, that prince may safely return thither. * In this manner you will reinstate him, according to the senate's first decree, and he be restored without troops, which our zealots assure us is the sense of the Sibyl." Would one believe that a grave magistrate, in an affair so impor-

* Ita fore ut per te restitatur, quemadmodum initio senatus censuit; & sine mul-

tudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt.

tant as that in the present question, should be capable of an evasion, which appears so little consistent with the integrity and probity, upon which Cicero piqued himself? It was, because he reckoned the oracle only pretended to be the Sibyl's, as indeed it was, that is to say, a mere contrivance and imposture.

Lentulus, stopped by the difficulties of that enterprize, which were great and real, was afraid to engage in it, and took the advice Cicero gave him in the conclusion of his letter, where he represented: "That * all the world would judge of his conduct from the event: That therefore he had only to take his measures so well, as to assure his success, and that otherwise he would do better not to undertake it."

Gabinus, who commanded in Syria in the quality of proconsul, was less apprehensive and cautious. Though every proconsul was prohibited by an express law to quit his province, or declare any war whatsoever, even upon the nearest borderer, without an express order of the senate, he had marched to the aid of Mithridates, prince of Parthia, expelled Media by the king his brother, which kingdom had fallen to him by division. He had already passed the A. M. Euphrates with his army for that purpose, when 3949. Ptolomy joined him with letters from Pompey, Ant. J. C. 55. their common friend and patron, who had very App. in lately been declared consul for the ensuing year. Syr p. 120. & in Parth. p. 134. By those letters he conjured Gabinus, to do Plut. in his utmost in favour of the proposals that prince Anton. p. should make him, with regard to his re-esta- 916, 917.

* Ex eventu homines de tuo consilio esse judicatu-
ros, videmus — Nos quidem
hoc sentimus; si exploratum

tibi sit, posse te illius regni
potiri, non esse cunctandum;
sin dubium non esse conan-
dum.

blishment in his kingdom. However dangerous that conduct might be, the authority of Pompey, and still more, the hope of considerable gain, made Gabinius begin to waver. The lively remonstrances of Antony, who sought occasions to signalize himself, and was besides inclined to please Ptolomy, whose request flattered his ambition, fully determined him. This was the famous Mark Antony, who afterwards formed the second triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus. Gabinius had engaged him to follow him into Syria, by giving him the command of his cavalry. The more dangerous the enterprize, the more right Gabinius thought he had to make Ptolomy pay dear for it. The latter, who found no difficulty in agreeing to any terms, offered him for himself and the army ten thousand talents, or thirty millions of livres, the greatest part to be advanced immediately in ready money, and the rest as soon as he should be reinstated. Gabinius accepted the offer without hesitation.

Strab. l. 12. p. 538. Id. l. 17. p. 794, & 796. Dio. l. 39. p. 115—117. Cic in Pison. n. 49, 50. Egypt had continued under the government of queen Berenice. As soon as she ascended the throne, the Egyptians had sent to offer the crown and Berenice to Antiochus Asiaticus in Syria, who, on his mother Selena's side, was the nearest heir male. The ambassadors found him dead, and returned: They brought an account, that his brother Seleucus, surnamed Cybiosactes, was still alive. The same offers were made to him, which he accepted. He was a prince of mean and sordid inclinations, and had no thoughts but of amassing money. His first care was, to cause the body of Alexander the Great to be put into a coffin of glass, in order to seize that of gold, in which it had lain untouched till then. This action, and many others

others of a like nature, having rendered him equally odious to his queen and subjects, she caused him to be strangled soon after. He was the last prince of the race of the Seleucides. She afterwards espoused Archelaus, high-priest of Comana in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though in effect only the son of that prince's chief general.

Gabinus, after having repassed the Euphrates, and crossed Palestine, marched directly in-
Plut. in Anton. p. 916, 917.
 to Egypt. What was most to be feared in this war, was the way by which they must necessarily march to Pelusium. For they could not avoid passing plains covered with sands of such a depth, as was terrible to think on, and so dry, that there was not a single drop of water the whole length of the moors of Serbonides. Antony, who was sent before with the horse, not only seized the passes, but having taken Pelusium, the key of Egypt on that side, with the whole garrison, he made the way secure for the rest of the army, and gave his general great hopes of the expedition.

The enemy found a considerable advantage in the desire of glory, which possessed Antony. For Ptolomy was no sooner entered Pelusium, than out of the violence of his hate and resentment, he would have put all the Egyptians in it to the sword. But Antony, who rightly judged, that act of cruelty would revert upon himself, opposed it, and prevented Ptolomy from executing his design. In all the battles and encounters which immediately followed one another, he not only gave proofs of his great valour, but distinguished himself by all the conduct of a great general.

As

As soon as Gabinius received advice of Antony's good success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile are very low, the properest time in consequence for the conquest of it. Archelaus, who was brave, able, and experienced, did all that could be done in his defence, and disputed his ground very well with the enemy. After he quitted the city, in order to march against the Romans, when it was necessary to encamp, and break ground for the entrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry, that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work at the expence of the publick. What could be expected from such troops in a battle? They were, in effect, soon put to the route. Archelaus was killed, fighting valiantly. Antony, who had been his particular friend and guest, having found his body upon the field of battle, adorned it in a royal manner, and solemnized his obsequies with great magnificence. By this action he left behind him a great name in Alexandria, and acquired amongst the Romans, who served with him in this war, the reputation of a man of singular valour and exceeding generosity.

Egypt was soon reduced, and obliged to receive Auletes, who took entire possession of his dominions. In order to strengthen him in it, Gabinius left him some Roman troops for the guard of his person. Those troops contracted at Alexandria the manners and customs of the country, and gave into the luxury and effeminacy, which reigned there in almost every city. Auletes put his daughter Berenice to death, for having worn the crown during his exile; and afterward got rid, in the same manner,

ner, of all the rich persons, who had been of the adverse party to him. He had occasion for those confiscations, to make up the sum he had promised to Gabinius, to whose aid he was indebted for his re-establishment.

The Egyptians suffered all these violences without murmuring. But some days after, a Roman soldier having accidentally killed a cat; neither the fear of Gabinius, nor the authority of Ptolemy, could prevent the people from tearing him to pieces upon the spot, to avenge the insult done to the gods of the country; for cats were of that number. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 74, 75.

Nothing farther is known in relation to the life of Ptolemy Auletes, except that C. Rabirius Posthumus, who had either lent him, or caused to be lent him, the greatest part of the sums he had borrowed at Rome, having gone to him, in order to his being paid, when he was entirely reinstated; that prince gave him to understand, that he despaired of satisfying him, unless he would consent to take upon him the care of his revenues; by which means he might reimburse himself by little and little with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor having accepted that offer, out of fear of losing his debt if he refused it, the king soon found a colour for causing him to be imprisoned, tho' one of the oldest and dearest of Cæsar's friends; and though Pompey was in some measure security for the debt; as the money was lent, and the obligations executed, in his presence, and by his procurement, in a country-house of his, near Alba. Cic. pro Rabir. Posth.

Rabirius thought himself too happy in being able to escape from prison and Egypt, more miserable than he went thither. To compleat his disgrace, he was prosecuted in form as soon

as

as he returned to Rome, for having aided Pto-
lomy in corrupting the senate, by the sums he
had lent him for that use; of having dishonou-
red his quality of Roman knight, by the em-
ployment he had accepted in Egypt; and
lastly, of having shared in the money, which
Gabinus brought from thence, with whom it
was alledged, he had a fellow-feeling. Cicero's
discourse in his defence, which we still have,
is an eternal monument of the ingratitude and
perfidy of this unworthy king.

A. M.
3953.
Ant. J. C.
51.
Cæsar de
bello Civ.
l. 3.

Ptolomy Auletes died in the peaceable pos-
session of the kingdom of Egypt, about four
years after his re-establishment. He left two
sons and two daughters. He gave his crown
to the eldest son and daughter, and ordered by
his will, that they should marry together, ac-
cording to the custom of that house, and go-
vern jointly. And because they were both very
young (for the daughter, who was the eldest,
was only seventeen years of age,) he left them
under the tuition of the Roman senate. This
was the famous Cleopatra, whose history it re-
mains for us to relate. We find the people
appointed Pompey the young king's guardian,
who some years after so basely ordered him to
be put to death.

Entrop.
l. 6.



S E C T. II.

Pothinus and Achillas, ministers of the young king, expel Cleopatra. She raises troops to re-establish herself. Pompey, after having been overthrown at Pharsalia retires into Egypt. He is assassinated there. Cæsar, who pursued him, arrives at Alexandria, where he is informed of his death, which he seems to lament. He endeavours to reconcile the brother and sister, and for that purpose sends for Cleopatra, of whom he soon becomes enamoured. Great commotions arise at Alexandria, and several battles are fought between the Egyptians and Cæsar's troops, wherein the latter have almost always the advantage. The king, having been drowned in flying after a sea-fight, all Egypt submits to Cæsar. He sets Cleopatra, with her youngest brother, upon the throne, and returns to Rome.

LITTLE is known of the beginning of A. M. Cleopatra's and her brother's reign. That prince was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus the eunuch, and of Achillas the general of his army. Those two ministers, no doubt, to engross all affairs to themselves, had deprived Cleopatra, in the king's name, of the share in the sovereignty, left her by the will of Auletes. Injured in this manner, she went into Syria and Palestine, to raise troops in those countries, in order to assert her rights by force of arms.

It was exactly at this conjuncture of the difference between the brother and sister, that Pompey, after having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt; conceiving, that he should find there an open and assured asylum in his misfortunes.

3956.
Ant. J. C.
48.
Plut. in
Pomp. p.
659--662
Id. in Cæf.
p. 730;
731.
App. de
bell. civ.
p. 480—
484.
Cæsar de
bell. civ.
l. 3.
Dio. l. 42.
p. 200—
206.

misfortunes. He had been the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king, and it was solely to his credit he was indebted for his re-establishment. He was in hopes of finding the son grateful, and of being powerfully assisted by him. When he arrived, Ptolemy was upon the coast with his army, between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Cleopatra at no great distance, at the head of her troops also. Pompey, on approaching the coast, sent to Ptolemy to demand permission to land, and enter his kingdom.

The two ministers, Pothinus and Achillas, consulted with Theodotus, the rhetorician, the young king's præceptor, and with some others, what answer they should make. Pompey, in the mean time, waited the result of that council, and chose rather to expose himself to the decision of three unworthy persons, that governed the prince, than to owe his safety to Cæsar, who was his father-in-law, and the greatest of the Romans. This council differed in opinion; some were for receiving him, others for having him told to seek a retreat elsewhere. Theodotus approved neither of these methods, and displaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate, that there was no other choice to be made, than that of ridding the world of him. His reasons were, because if they received him, Cæsar would never forgive the having assisted his enemy: If they sent him away without aid, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would not fail to revenge himself upon them for their refusal. That therefore there was no security for them, but in putting him to death; by which means they would gain Cæsar's friendship, and prevent the other from ever doing them any hurt; for, said he, according

according to the proverb, *Dead men don't bite.*

This advice carried it, as being in their sense the wisest and most safe. Septimius, a Roman officer in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others, were charged with putting it in execution. They went to take Pompey on board a shallop, under the pretext that great vessels could not approach the shore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up on the sea-side, as with design to do honour to Pompey, with Ptolomy at their head. The perfidious Septimius tendered his hand to Pompey in the name of his master, and bade him come to a king, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and son. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who was already in tears for his death; and after having repeated these verses of Sophocles, *Every man that enters the court of a tyrant becomes his slave, though free before*, he went into the shallop. When they saw themselves near the shore, they stabbed him before the king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the strand, where it had no other funeral than what one of his freedmen gave it, with the assistance of an old Roman, who was there by chance. They raised him a wretched pile, and covered him with some fragments of an old wreck, that had been driven ashore there.

Cornelia had seen Pompey massacred before her eyes. It is easier to imagine the condition of a woman, in the height of grief from so tragical an object, than to describe it. Those who were in her galley, and in two other ships in company with it, made the coast resound with the cries they raised, and weighing anchor immediately,

mediately, set sail before the wind, which blew fresh as soon as they got out to sea: This prevented the Egyptians, who were getting ready to chace them, from pursuing their design.

Cæsar made all possible haste to arrive in Egypt, whither he suspected Pompey had retired, and where he was in hopes of finding him alive. That he might be there the sooner, he carried very few troops with him; only eight hundred horse, and three thousand two hundred foot. He left the rest of his army in Greece and Asia minor, under his lieutenant generals with orders to make all the advantages of his victory it would admit, and to establish his authority in all those countries. * As for his person, confiding in his reputation, and the success of his arms at Pharsalia, and reckoning all places secure for him, he made no scruple to land at Alexandria with the few people he had. He was very nigh paying dear for his temerity.

Upon his arrival he was informed of Pompey's death, and found the city in great confusion. Theodotus, believing he should do him an exceeding pleasure, presented him the head of that illustrious fugitive. He wept at seeing it, and turned away his eyes from a spectacle, that gave him horror. He even caused it to be interred with all the usual solemnities. And the better to express his esteem for Pompey, and the respect he had for his memory, he received with great kindness, and loaded with favours, all who had adhered to him then in Egypt; and wrote to his friends at Rome, that the

* Cæsar confusus fama rerum gestarum, infirmis auxiliis proficisci non dubitave-

rat; atque omnem sibi locum tutum fore existimabat. *Cæs.*

highest and most grateful advantage of his victory, was to find every day some new occasion to preserve the life, and do services to some citizen, who had born arms against him.

The commotions encreased every day at Alexandria, and abundance of murders were committed there; the city having neither law nor government, because without a master. Cæsar perceiving, that the small number of troops with him were far from being sufficient to awe an insolent and seditious populace, gave orders for the legions he had in Asia to march thither. It was not in his power to leave Egypt, because of the Etesian winds, which in that country blow continually in the dog-days, and prevent all vessels from quitting Alexandria; those winds are then always full north. Not to lose time, he demanded the payment of the money due to him from Auletes, and took cognizance of the difference between Ptolomy and his sister Cleopatra.

We have seen, that when Cæsar was consul for the first time, Auletes had gained him, by the promise of six thousand talents, and by that means had assured himself of the throne, and been declared the friend and ally of the Romans. The king had paid him only a part of that sum, and had given him an obligation for the remainder. Cæsar therefore demanded what was unpaid, which he wanted for the subsistence of his troops, and exacted with rigour. Pothinus, Ptolomy's first minister, employed various stratagems to make this rigour appear still greater than it really was. He plundered the temples of all the gold and silver to be found in them, and made the king, and all the great persons of the kingdom eat out of earthen, or wooden, vessels; insinuating underhand, that

Cæsar had seized upon all their silver and gold plate; in order to render him odious to the populace by such reports, which did not want appearance, though entirely groundless.

But what finally incensed the Egyptians against Cæsar, and made them at last take arms, was the haughtiness with which he acted as judge between Ptolomy and Cleopatra, in causing them to be cited to appear before him for the decision of their difference. We shall soon see upon what he founded his authority for proceeding in that manner. He therefore decreed in form, that they should disband their armies, should appear and plead their cause before him, and receive such sentence as he should pass between them. This order was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, which being independant, acknowledged no superiour, and could be judged by no tribunal. Cæsar replied to those complaints, that he acted only in virtue of being arbiter by the will of Auletes, who had put his children under the tuition of the senate and people of Rome, of which the whole authority then vested in his person, in quality of consul. That as guardian, he had a right to arbitrate between them; and that all he pretended to, as executor of the will, was to establish peace between the brother and sister. This explanation having facilitated the affair, it was at length brought before Cæsar, and advocates were chosen to plead the cause.

But Cleopatra, who knew Cæsar's foible, believed her presence would be more persuasive, than any advocate she could employ with her judge. She caused him to be told, that she perceived, that those she employed in her behalf, betrayed her, and demanded his permission to appear in person. Plutarch says, it was Cæsar

himself who pressed her to come and plead her cause.

That princess took no body with her, of all her friends, but Apollodorus the Sicilian, got into a little boat, and arrived at the bottom of the walls of the citadel of Alexandria, when it was quite dark at night. Finding, that there was no means of entering without being known, she thought of this stratagem. She laid herself at length in the midst of a bundle of cloaths. Apollodorus wrapt it up in a cloath, tied it up with a thong, and in that manner carried it through the port of the citadel to Cæsar's apartment, who was far from being displeased with the stratagem. The first sight of so beautiful a person, had all the effect upon him she had desired.

Cæsar sent the next day for Ptolomy, and pressed him to take her again, and be reconciled with her. Ptolomy saw plainly, that his judge was become his adversary ; and having learnt that his sister was then in the palace, and in Cæsar's own apartment, he quitted it in the utmost fury, and in the open street took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground ; crying out, with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the circumstances to the multitude who assembled round him. In a moment the whole city was in motion. He put himself at the head of the populace, and led them on tumultuously to charge Cæsar with all the fury natural on such occasions.

The Roman soldiers, whom Cæsar had with him, secured the person of Ptolomy. But as all the rest, who knew nothing of what passed, were dispersed in the several quarters of that great city, Cæsar had infallibly been over-

powered, and torn to pieces by that furious populace, if he had not had the presence of mind to shew himself to them from a part of the palace, so high, that he had nothing to fear upon it: from hence he assured them, that they would be fully satisfied with the judgment he should pass. Those promises appeased the Egyptians a little.

The next day he brought out Ptolomy and Cleopatra, into an assembly of the people, summoned by his order. After having caused the will of the late king to be read; he decreed, as tutor and arbitrator, that Ptolomy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, according to the intent of that will; and that Ptolomy the younger son, and Arsinoe the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. He added the last article to appease the people; for it was purely a gift he made them, as the Romans were actually in possession of that island. But he feared the effects of the Alexandrians fury; and to extricate himself out of danger, was the reason for his making that concession.

A. M.

3935.

Ant. J. C.

47.

The whole world were satisfied and charmed with this decree, except only Pothinus. As it was he who had caused the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulsion of that princess from the throne, he had reason to apprehend that the consequences of this accommodation would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of Cæsar's decree, he inspired the people with new subjects of jealousy and discontent. He gave out, that Cæsar had only granted this decree by force and fear, which would not long subsist; and that his true design was to place only Cleopatra upon the throne. This was what the Egyptians exceedingly feared, not being able to endure that a woman

woman should govern them alone, and have all authority to herself. When he saw, that the people came into his views, he made Archelaus advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Cæsar out of Alexandria. The approach of that army put all things into their first confusion. Achilles, who had twenty thousand good troops, despised Cæsar's small number, and believed he should crush him immediately. But Cæsar posted his men so well in the streets, and upon the avenues of the quarter in his possession, that he found no difficulty in supporting their attack.

When they saw they could not force him, they changed their measures, and marched towards the port, with design to make themselves masters of the fleet, to cut off his communication with the sea, and to prevent him in consequence from receiving succours and convoys on that side. But Cæsar again frustrated their design, by causing the Egyptian fleet to be set on fire, and by possessing himself of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned. By this means he preserved and secured his communication with the sea, without which he had been ruined effectually. Some of the vessels on fire came so near the Quay, that the flames caught the neighbouring houses, from whence they spread throughout the whole quarter, called Bruchion. It was at this time the famous library was consumed, which had been the work of so many kings, and in which there were four hundred thousand volumes. What a loss was this to learning!

Cæsar, seeing so dangerous a war upon his hands, sent into all the neighbouring countries for aid. He wrote, amongst others, to Domitius Calvinus, whom he had left to

command in Asia minor, and signified to him his danger. That general immediately detached two legions, the one by land and the other by sea. That which went by sea arrived in time; the other, that marched by land, did not go thither at all. Before it had got there the war was at an end. But Cæsar was best served by Mithridates the Pergamenian, whom he sent into Syria and Cilicia. For he brought him the troops, which extricated him out of danger, as we shall see in the sequel.

Whilst he waited the aids he had sent for, that he might not fight an army so superior in number, till he thought fit, he caused the quarter in his possession to be fortified. He surrounded it with walls, and flanked it with towers and other works. Those lines included the palace, a theatre very near it, which he made use of as a citadel, and the way that led to the port.

Ptolomy all this while was in Cæsar's hands; and Pothinus, his governor and first minister, who was of intelligence with Achillas, gave him advice of all that passed, and encouraged him to push the siege with vigour. One of his letters was at last intercepted, and his treason being thereby discovered, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch of the palace, who educated Arsinoe the youngest of the king's sisters, apprehending the same fate, because he had shared in that treason, carried off the young princess, and escaped into the camp of the Egyptians; who not having, till then, any of the royal family at their head, were overjoyed at her presence, and proclaimed her queen. But Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achillas, caused that general to be

be accused, of having given up the fleet to Cæsar, that had been set on fire by the Romans; which occasioned that general's being put to death, and the command of the army to be transferred to him. He took also upon him, the administration of all other affairs; and undoubtedly did not want capacity for the employment of a prime minister, probity only excepted, which is often reckoned little or no qualification. For he had all the necessary penetration and activity, and contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress Cæsar, during the continuance of this war.

For instance, he found means to spoil all the fresh water in his quarter, and was very near destroying him by that means. For there was no other fresh water in Alexandria, but that of the Nile. * In every house were vaulted reservoirs, where it was kept. Every year, upon the great swell of the Nile, the water of that river came in by a canal, which had been cut for that use, and by a sluice made on purpose, was turned into the vaulted reservoirs, which were the cisterns of the city, where it grew clear by degrees. The masters of houses and their families drank of this water; but the poorer sort of people were forced to drink the running water, which was muddy and very unwholesome; for there was no springs in the city. Those caverns were made in such a manner, that they all had communication with each other. This provision of water served for the whole year. Every house had an opening, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the

* *There are, to this day, filled once a year, as of old. exactly the same kind of caves Thevenot's travels. at Alexandria, which are*

water was drawn, either in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes caused all the communications, with the caverns in the quarter of Cæsar, to be stoppt up ; and then found means to turn the sea-water into the latter, and thereby spoiled all his fresh water. As soon as they perceived that the water was spoiled, Cæsar's soldiers made such a noise, and raised such a tumult, that he would have been obliged to abandon his quarter, very much to his disadvantage, if he had not immediately thought of ordering wells to be sunk, where, at last, springs were found, which supplied them with water enough to make them amends for that which was spoiled.

After that, upon Cæsar's receiving advice, that the legion Calvinus had sent by sea, was arrived upon the coast of Libya, which was not very distant, he advanced with his whole fleet, to convoy it safely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was apprized of this, and immediately assembled all the Egyptian ships he could get, in order to attack him upon his return. A battle actually ensued between the two fleets. Cæsar had the advantage, and brought his legion without danger into the port of Alexandria ; and had not the night came on, the ships of the enemy would not have escaped.

To repair that loss, Ganymedes drew together all the ships in the mouths of the Nile, and formed a new fleet, with which he entered the port of Alexandria. A second action was unavoidable. The Alexandrians climbed in throngs to the tops of the houses next the port, to be spectators of the fight, and expected the success with fear and trembling ; lifting up their hands to heaven, to implore the assistance of the gods. The all of the Romans was at
stake,

stake; to whom there was no resource left, if they lost this battle. Cæsar was again victorious. The Rhodians, by their valour and skill in naval affairs, contributed exceedingly to this victory.

Cæsar, to make the best of it, endeavoured to seize the isle of Pharos, where he made his troops land after the battle, and to possess himself of the mole, called the Heptastadion, by which it was joined to the continent. But after having obtained several advantages, he was repulsed with the loss of more than eight hundred men, and was very near falling himself in his retreat. For the ship, in which he had designed to get off, being ready to sink with the too great number of people, who had entered it with him, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. Whilst he was in the sea, he held one hand above the water, in which were papers of consequence, and swam with the other, so that they were not spoiled.

The Alexandrians seeing, that ill success itself only served to give Cæsar's troops new courage, entertained thoughts of making peace, or at least made shew of such a disposition. They sent deputies to demand their king of him; assuring him, that his presence alone would put an end to all differences. Cæsar, who well knew their subtle and deceitful character, was not at a loss to comprehend their professions; but as he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's person, and if they failed in their promises, the fault would be entirely on their side, he thought it incumbent on him to grant their demand. He exhorted the young prince, to take the advantage of this opportunity to inspire his subjects with sentiments

ments of peace and equity ; to redress the evils, with which a war, very imprudently undertaken, distressed his dominions ; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him, by giving him his liberty ; and to shew his gratitude for the services he had rendered his father. Ptolomy *, early instructed by his masters in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged of Cæsar, with tears in his eyes, not to deprive him of his presence, which was a much greater satisfaction to him, than to reign over others. The sequel soon explained how much sincerity there was in those tears and professions of amity. He was no sooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. The Egyptians endeavoured, by the means of their fleet, to cut off Cæsar's provisions entirely. This occasioned a new fight at sea near Canopus, in which Cæsar was again victorious. When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army, which he was bringing on to the aid of Cæsar.

Joseph.
Antiq.
XIV. 14
& 15.

He had been sent into Syria and Cilicia to assemble all the troops he could, and to bring them to Egypt. He acquitted himself of his commission with such diligence and prudence, that he had soon formed a considerable army. Antipater the Idumæan, contributed very much towards it. He not only joined him with three thousand Jews, but engaged several neighbouring princes of Arabia and Coelosyria to send him troops. Mithridates, with Antipater, who

* Regius animus disciplinis fallacissimis eruditus, ne a gentis suæ moribus degeneraret, sœns orare contra Cæsarem cœpit, ne se dimitt-

teret : non enim regnum ipsum sibi conspectu Cæsaris esse jucundum. *Hirt. de Bell. Alex.*

accompanied

accompanied him in person, marched into Egypt, and upon arriving before Pelusium, they carried that place by storm. They were indebted principally to Antipater's bravery, for the taking of this city. For he was the first that mounted the breach, and got upon the wall, and thereby opened the way for those who followed him to carry the town.

On their route from thence to Alexandria, it was necessary to pass through the country of Onion, of which the Jews, who inhabited it, had seized all the passes. The army was there put to a stand, and their whole design was upon the point of miscarrying, if Antipater, by his credit, and that of Hyrcanus, from whom he brought them letters, had not engaged them to embrace Cæsar's party. Upon the spreading of which news, the Jews of Memphis did the same ; and Mithridates received from both all the provisions his army had occasion for. When they were near Delta, Ptolomy detached a flying camp, to dispute the passage of the Nile with them. A battle was fought in consequence. Mithridates put himself at the head of part of his army, and gave the command of the other to Antipater. Mithridates's wing was soon broke, and obliged to give way ; but Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, came to his relief. The battle began afresh, and the enemy were defeated. Mithridates and Antipater pursued them, made a great slaughter, and regained the field of battle. They took even the enemy's camp, and obliged those who remained to escape, by repassing the Nile.

Ptolomy then advanced with his whole army, in order to over-power the victors. Cæsar also marched to support them ; and as soon as he

he had joined them, came directly to a decisive battle, in which he obtained a complete victory. Ptolomy, in endeavouring to escape in a boat upon the Nile, was drowned in that river. Alexandria, and all Egypt submitted to the victor.

Cæsar returned to Alexandria about the middle of January; and not finding any further opposition to his orders, he gave the crown of Egypt to Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolomy her other brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone; for that young prince was only eleven years old. The passion, which Cæsar had conceived for that princess, was properly the sole cause of his embarking in so dangerous a war. He had by her one son, called Cæsarion, whom Augustus caused to be put to death when he became master of Alexandria. His affection for Cleopatra kept him much longer in Egypt, than his affairs required. For though every thing was settled in that kingdom by the end of January, he did not leave it till the end of April; according to Appian, who says he stayed there nine months. He did not arrive there before the end of July in the preceding year.

Suet. in
J. Cæs.
c. 52.

Cæsar passed whole nights in feasting with Cleopatra. Having embarked with her upon the Nile, he carried her through the whole country, with a numerous fleet, and would have penetrated into Ethiopia, if his army had not refused to follow him. He had resolved to have her brought to Rome, and to marry her; and intended to have caused a law to pass in the assembly of the people, by which the citizens of Rome should be permitted to marry such, and as many wives as they thought fit. Marius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared,
after

after his death, that he had prepared an harangue, in order to propose that law to the people ; not being able to refuse his offices to the earnest solicitations of Cæsar.

He carried Arsinoë to Rome, whom he had taken in this war, and she walked in his triumph, bound with chains of gold ; but immediately after that solemnity he set her at liberty. He did not permit her, however, to return into Egypt, lest her presence should occasion new troubles, and frustrate the regulations he had made in that kingdom. She chose the province of Asia for her residence , at least it was there Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and caused her to be put to death at the instigation of her sister Cleopatra.

Before he left Alexandria, Cæsar, in gratitude for the aid he had received from the Jews, caused all the privileges they enjoyed to be confirmed ; and ordered a column to be raised, on which, by his command, all those privileges were engraven , with the decree confirming them.

What at length made him quit Egypt, was the war with Pharnacës, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates, the last king of Pontus. He fought a great battle with him near the city of * Zela, defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of this conquest, in writing to one of his friends, he made use of only these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici* ; that is to say, *I came, I saw, I conquered*. Plut. in
Cæs. p.
731.

* This was a city of Cappadocia.

S E C T. III.

Cleopatra causes her young brother to be put to death, and reigns alone. The death of Julius Cæsar, having made way for the Triumvirate formed between Antony, Lepidus, and young Cæsar, called also Octavius, Cleopatra declares herself for the Triumvirs. She goes to Antony at Tarsus, gets an absolute ascendant over him, and brings him with her to Alexandria. Antony goes to Rome, where he espouses Octavia. He abandons himself again to Cleopatra, and after some expeditions returns to Alexandria, which he enters in triumph. He there celebrates the coronation of Cleopatra and her children. Open rupture between Cæsar and Antony. The latter repudiates Octavia. The two fleets put to sea. Cleopatra determines to follow Antony. Battle of Actium. Cleopatra flies, and draws Antony after her. Cæsar's victory is compleat. He advances some time after against Alexandria, which makes no long resistance. Tragical death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt is reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

A. M.
3961.
Ant. J. C.
43.
Joseph.
Antiq.
xv. 4.
Porphyr.
p. 226.

CÆSAR, after the war of Alexandria, had set Cleopatra upon the throne, and for form only, had made her brother her companion, who at that time was only eleven years of age. During his minority, all power was in her hands. When he attained his fifteenth year, which was the time, when, according to the laws of the country, he was to govern for himself, and have a share in the royal authority, she poisoned him, and remained sole queen of Egypt.

In

In this interval Cæsar had been killed at Rome by the conspirators, at the head of which were Brutus and Cassius; the Triumvirate between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius Cæsar, was then formed, to avenge the death of Cæsar.

Cleopatra declared herself, without hesitation, Appian. for the Triumvirs. She gave Albienus, the con-^{l. 3. p.} sul Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions; which^{576. l. 4.} were the remains of Pompey's and Crassus's ar-^{p. 623.} mies, and were part of the troops Cæsar had^{l. 5. p. 675.} left with her for the guard of Egypt. She had also a fleet in readiness for sailing; but prevented by storms from setting out. Cassius A. M. made himself master of those four legions, and^{3962.} frequently solicited Cleopatra for aid, which^{Ant. J. C.} she as often refused. She sailed some time af-^{42.} ter with a numerous fleet, to join Antony and Octavius. A violent storm occasioned the loss of a great number of her ships, and falling sick, she was obliged to return into Egypt.

Antony, after the defeat of Brutus and Cas- A. M. sius in the battle of Philippi, having passed^{3963.} over into Asia, in order to establish the autho-^{Ant. J. C.} rity of the Triumvirate there, the kings, princes,^{41.} and ambassadors of the East, came thither in^{Plut. in} throngs to make their court to him. He was^{Anton. p.} informed, that the governours of Phœnicia,^{926, 927.} which was in the dependance of the kingdom^{Diod. l.} of Egypt, had sent Cassius aid against Dola-^{48. p 371.} bella. He cited Cleopatra before him, to an-^{App. de} swer for the conduct of her governors; and sent^{bell. civil.} one of his lieutenants to oblige her to come to^{l. 5. p. 671.} him in Cilicia, whether he was going to assemble the states of that province. That step became very fatal to Antony in its effects, and occasioned his ruin. His love for Cleopatra, having awakened passions in him, till then concealed

cealed or asleep, enflamed them even to madness, and finally deadened and extinguished the few sparks of honour and virtue, he might perhaps still retain.

Cleopatra, assured of her charms, by the proof she had already so successfully made of them upon Julius Cæsar, was in hopes, that she could also very easily captivate Antony : and the more, because the former had known her only when she was very young, and had no experience of the world ; whereas she was going to appear before Antony at an age, wherein women, with the bloom of their beauty, unite the whole force of wit to treat and conduct the greatest affairs. Cleopatra was at that time five and twenty years old. She provided herself therefore with exceeding rich presents, great sums of money, and especially the most magnificent habits and ornaments ; and with still higher hopes in her attractions, and the graces of her person, more powerful than dress, or even gold, she began her voyage.

Upon her way she received several letters from Antony, who was at Tarsus, and from his friends, pressing her to hasten her journey ; but she only laughed at their instances, and used never the more diligence for them. After having crossed the sea of Pamphylia, she entered the Cydnus, and going up that river, landed at Tarsus. Never was more splendid or magnificent equipage seen than hers. The whole poop of her ship flamed with gold, the sails were purple, and the oars inlaid with silver. A pavillion of cloth of gold was raised upon the deck, under which appeared that queen, habited like Venus, and surrounded with the most beautiful virgins of her court, of whom some represented the Nereids, and others the Graces.

Graces. Instead of trumpets, were heard flutes, haut-boys, harps, and other such instruments of musick, warbling the softest airs, to which the oars kept time, and rendered the harmony more agreeable. Perfumes burnt on the deck, which spread their odours to a great distance upon the river, and on each side of its banks, covered with an infinitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn thither.

As soon as her arrival was known, the whole people of Tarsus went out to meet her; so that Antony, who at that time was giving audience, saw his tribunal abandoned by all the world, and not a single person with him, but his lictors and domesticks. A rumour was spread, that it was the goddess Venus, who came in masquerade, to make Bacchus a visit for the good of Asia.

She was no sooner landed, than Antony sent to compliment and invite her to supper. But she answered his deputies, that she should be very glad to regale him herself; and that she would expect him in the tents she had caused to be got ready upon the banks of the river. He made no difficulty in going thither, and found the preparations of a magnificence not to be expressed. He admired particularly the beauty of the branches, which had been disposed with abundance of art, and were so luminous, that they made midnight seem an agreeable day.

Antony invited her, in his turn, for the next day. But whatever efforts he had used to exceed her in his entertainment, he confessed himself overcome, as well in the splendor as disposition of the feast; and was the first to railly the parsimony and plainness of his own, in comparison with the sumptuosity and elegance of

patra's. The queen finding nothing but what was gross in the pleasantries of Antony, and more expressive of the soldier than the courtier, repaid him in his own coin ; but with so much wit and grace, that he was not in the least offended at it. For the beauties and charms of her conversation , attended with all possible sweetness and gaiety, had attractions in them still more irresistible than her form and feature, and left such incentives in the heart, the very soul, as were not easily conceivable. She charmed whenever she but spoke, such music and harmony were in her utterance, and the sound of her voice.

Little or no mention was made of the complaints against Cleopatra, which were, besides, without foundation. She struck Antony so violently with her charms, and got so absolute an ascendant over him, that he could refuse her nothing. It was at this time he caused Arsinoe her sister to be put to death, who had taken refuge in the temple of Diana at Melitus, as in a secure asylum.

Athen. l. 4.

P. 147,

148.

Great feasts were made every day. Some new banquet still out-did that which preceded it, and she seemed to study to excel herself. Antony, in a feast which she made, was astonished at seeing the riches displayed on all sides, and especially at the great number of gold cups enriched with jewels, and wrought by the most excellent workmen. She told him, with a disdainful air, that those were but trifles, and made him a present of them. The next day the banquet was still more superb. Antony, according to custom, had brought a good number of guests along with him, all officers of rank and distinction. She gave them all the vessels

vessels and plate of gold and silver used at the entertainment.

Without doubt, in one of these feasts, happened what Pliny, and after him Macrobius relate. Cleopatra jested according to custom upon Antony's table, as very indifferently served and inelegant. Piqued with the raillery, he asked her with some warmth, what she thought would add to its magnificence? Cleopatra answered coldly, that she could expend * more than a million of livres upon one supper. He affirmed, that she only boasted, that it was impossible, and that she could never bring it to bear. A wager was laid, and Plancus was to decide it. The next day they came to the banquet. The service was magnificent, but had nothing so very extraordinary in it. Antony calculated the expence; demanded of the queen the price of the several dishes, and with an air of raillery, as secure of victory, told her, that they were still far from a million. Stay, said the queen, this is only a beginning. I shall try whether I can't spend a million only upon my self. † A second table was brought, and according to the order she had before given, nothing was set on it, but a single cup of vinegar. Antony surprized at such a preparation, could not imagine for what it was intended. Cleopatra had at her ears two of the finest pearls that were ever seen, each of which was valued at a million of livres. One of these pearls she took off, threw it into || the vinegar,

* Centies H. S. Hoc est centies centena millies festerium. Which amounted to more than a million of livres, or 52500 l. sterling.

† The antients changed their tables at every course.

|| Vinegar is of force to melt the hardest things. Aceti succus domitor rerum, as

vinegar, and after having made it melt, swallowed it. She was preparing to do as much by the other. Plancus stopped her, and deciding the wager in her favour, declared Antony overcome. Plancus was much in the wrong, to envy the queen the singular and peculiar glory of having devoured two millions in two cups.

A. N.
3964.
Ant. J. C.
40.

Antony was embroiled with Cæsar. Whilst his wife Fulvia was very active at Rome in supporting his interests, and the army of the Parthians was upon the point of entering Syria, as if those things did not concern him, he suffered himself to be drawn away by Cleopatra to Alexandria, where they passed their time in sports, amusements, and voluptuosities; treating each other every day at excessive and incredible expences; which may be judged from the following circumstance.

Plot. in
Anton.
P. 928.

A young Greek, who went to Alexandria to study physick, upon the great noise those feasts made, had the curiosity to assure himself, with his own eyes, in regard to them. Having been admitted into Antony's kitchen, he saw, amongst other things, eight wild boars roasting whole at the same time. Upon which he expressed surprize, at the great number of

Pliny says of it, l. 13. c. 3. Cleopatra had not the glory of the invention. Before, to the disgrace of royalty, the son of a comedian (Gladius the son of F. fopus) had done something of the same kind, and often swallowed pearls melted in that manner, from the sole pleasure of making the expence of his meal enormous. Filius Actoris detractam ex aure metellarum scilicet ut decies foli-

dum ex fopet, aceto diluit insignem hancam. Hor. l. 2. Sat. 2.

** This other pearl was afterwards consecrated to Venus by Augustus, who carried it to Rome on his return from Alexandria; and having caused it to be cut in two, it served for pendants in the ears of that goddess.*

guels

guests that he supposed were to be at this supper. One of the officers could not forbear laughing, and told him, that they were not so many as he imagined, and that there could not be above ten in all : but that it was necessary every thing should be served in a degree of perfection, which every moment ceases and spoils. For, added he, it often happens, that Antony will order his supper, and a moment after forbid it to be served, having entered into some conversation that diverts him. For that reason not one, but many suppers are provided, because it is hard to know at what time he will think fit to eat.

Cleopatra, lest Antony should escape her, never lost sight of him, or quitted him day or night ; always employed in diverting and retarding him in her chains. She played with him at dice, hunted with him, and when he exercised his troops was always present. Her sole attention was to amuse him agreeably, and not to leave him time to conceive the least disgust.

One day, when he was fishing with an angle, and caught nothing, he was very much displeased on that account, because the queen was of the party, and he was unwilling to seem to want address or good fortune in her presence. It therefore came into his thoughts to order fishermen to dive secretly under water, and to fasten some of the large fishes to his hook, which they had taken before. That order was executed immediately, and Antony drew up his line several times, with a great fish at the end of it. This artifice did not escape the fair Egyptian. She affected great admiration and surprize at Antony's good fortune ; but told her friends privately what had passed, and in-

vited them to come the next day, and be spectators of a like pleasantry. They did not fail. When they were all got into the fishing-boats, and Antony had thrown his line, she commanded one of her people to dive immediately into the water, to prevent Antony's divers, and to make fast a large salt fish, of those that came from the kingdom of Pontus, to his hook. When Antony perceived his line had its load, he drew it up. It is easy to imagine, what a great laugh arose at the sight of that salt fish; and Cleopatra said to him, *Leave the line, good general, to us, the kings and queens of Pbaros and Canopus: your business is to fish for cities, kingdoms, and princes.*

Whilst Antony amused himself in these puerile sports and trifling diversions, the news he received of Labienus's conquests at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his profound sleep, and obliged him to march against them. But having received advice, upon his route, of Fulvia's death, he returned to Rome, where he reconciled himself to young Cæsar, whose sister Octavia he married, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of Marcellus. It was believed this marriage would make him forget Cleopatra. But having began his march against the Parthians, his passion for the Egyptian, which had something of enchantment in it, rekindled with more violence than ever.

A. M.

3965.

Ant. J. C.

39.

A. M.

3966.

Ant. J. C.

38.

Epiphan.

de mens.

& pond.

This queen, in the midst of the most violent passions, and the intoxication of pleasures, retained always a taste for polite learning, and the sciences. In the place where stood the famous library of Alexandria, which had been burnt some years before, as we have observed, she erected a new one, to the augmentation of which

Antony

Antony very much contributed, by presenting her the libraries of Pergamus, in which were above two hundred thousand volumes. She did not collect books merely for ornament; she made use of them. There were few barbarous nations to whom she spoke by an interpreter; she answered most of them in their own language; the Ethiopians, Trôglodytæ, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians. She ^{Plut. in} knew besides several other languages; whereas ^{Anton.} the kings, who had reigned before her in E-^{p. 927.}gypt, had scarce been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had even forgot the Macedonian, their natural tongue.

Cleopatra, pretending herself the lawful wife of Antony, saw him marry Octavia with great emotion, whom she looked upon as her rival. Antony, to appease her, was obliged to make her magnificent presents. He gave her Phœnicia, the lower Syria, the isle of Cyprus, with a great extent of Cilicia. To these he added part of Judæa and Arabia. These great presents, which considerably abridged the empire, very much afflicted the Romans, and they were no less offended at the excessive honours, which he paid this foreign princess.

Two years passed, during which Antony made several voyages to Rome; and undertook some expeditions against the Parthians and Armenians, in which he acquired no great honour.

It was in one of these expeditions the temple of Anaitis was plundered, a goddess much ^{Plin. l. 33.} celebrated amongst a certain people of Armenia. Her statue of massy gold was broke in pieces by the soldiers, with which several of them were considerably enriched. One of them, a veteran, who afterwards settled at Bologna in

Italy, had the good fortune to receive Augustus in his house, and to entertain him at supper. *Is it true*, said that prince at table, talking of this story, *that the man, who made the first stroke at the statue of this goddess, was immediately deprived of sight, lost the use of his limbs, and expired the same hour?* If it were, replied the veteran with a smile, *I should not now have the honour of seeing Augustus beneath my roof, being myself the rash person, who made the first assault upon her, which has since stood me in great stead. For if I have any thing, I am entirely indebted for it to the good goddess; upon one of whose legs, even now, my lord, you are at supper.*

A. M. Antony, believing he had made every thing
3969. secure in those countries, led back his troops.

Ant. J. C. From his impatience to rejoin Cleopatra, he

35. hastened his march so much, notwithstanding

Plut. in the rigour of the season, and the continual

Anton. P. 939—242 snows, that he lost eight thousand men upon his

route, and marched into Phœnicia with very few followers. He rested there in expectation of Cleopatra: and as she was too slow in coming, he fell into anxiety, grief, and languishment, that visibly preyed upon him. She arrived at length with cloaths, and great sums of money for his troops.

Octavia, at the same time, had quitted Rome to join him, and was already arrived at Athens. Cleopatra rightly perceived that she came to dispute Antony's heart with her. She was afraid, that with her virtue, wisdom, and the gravity of her manners, if she had time to make use of her modest, but lively and insinuating, attractions to win her husband, that she would gain an absolute power over him. To avoid which danger, she affected to die for love of Antony; and with that view, made herself

lean

lean and wan; by taking very little nourishment. Whenever he entered her apartment, she looked upon him with an air of surprize and amazement; and when he left her, seemed to languish with sorrow and dejection. She often contrived to appear bathed in tears, and at the same moment endeavoured to dry and conceal them, as if to hide her weakness and disorder. Antony, who feared nothing so much as occasioning the least displeasure to Cleopatra, wrote letters to Octavia, to order her to stay for him at Athens, and to proceed no further, because he was upon the point of undertaking some new expedition. At the request of the king of the Medes, who promised him powerful succours, he was, in reality, making preparations to renew the war against the Parthians.

That virtuous Roman lady, dissembling the wrong he did her, sent to him to know, where it would be agreeable to him to have the presents carried, she had designed for him, since he did not think fit to let her deliver them in person. Antony received this second compliment no better than the first; and Cleopatra, who had prevented his seeing Octavia, would neither permit him to receive any thing from her. Octavia was obliged therefore to return to Rome, without having produced any other effect by her voyage, than that of making Antony more inexcusable. This was what Cæsar desired, in order to have a juster reason for breaking entirely with him.

When Octavia came to Rome, Cæsar, professing an high resentment of the affront she had received, ordered her to quit Antony's house, and to go to her own. She answered, that she would not leave her husband's house; and that if he had no other reasons for a war with Antony,

tony, than what related to her, she conjured him to abandon her interests. She accordingly always continued there, as if he had been present, and educated with great care and magnificence, not only the children he had by her, but also those of Fulvia. What a contrast is here between Octavia and Cleopatra! In the midst of resentment and affronts, how worthy does the one seem of esteem and respect, and the other, with all her grandeur and magnificence, of contempt and abhorrence!

Cleopatra omitted no kind of arts to retain Antony in her chains. Tears, caresses, reproaches, menaces, all were employed. By dint of presents she had gained all who approached him, and in whom he placed greatest confidence. Those flatterers represented to him in the strongest terms, that it was utterly cruel and inhuman to abandon Cleopatra in the mournful condition she then was; and that it would be the death of that unfortunate princess, who loved, and lived for, him alone. They softened and melted the heart of Antony so effectually, that for fear of occasioning Cleopatra's death, he returned immediately to Alexandria, and put off the Medes to the following spring.

A. M. 3970. Ant. J. C. 34. It was with great difficulty then, that he resolved to leave Egypt, and remove himself from his dear Cleopatra. She agreed to attend him to the banks of the Euphrates.

A. M. 3971. Ant. J. C. 33. After having made himself master of Armenia, as well by treachery as force of arms, he returned to Alexandria, which he entered in triumph, dragging at his chariot-wheels the king of Armenia, laden with chains of gold, and presented him in that condition to Cleopatra, who was pleased to see a captive king
at

at her feet. He refreshed himself at leisure, after his great fatigues in feasts and parties of pleasure, in which Cleopatra and himself passed their days and nights. That vain * Egyptian woman, at one of their banquets, seeing Antony full of wine, presumed to ask him to give her the Roman empire, which he was not ashamed to promise her.

Before he set out on a new expedition, Antony, to bind the queen to him by new obligations, and to give her new proofs of his being entirely devoted to her, resolved to solemnize the coronation of her and her children. A throne of massy gold was erected for that purpose in the palace, the ascent to which was by several steps of silver. Antony was seated upon this throne, dressed in a purple robe embroidered with gold, and buttoned with diamonds. On his side he wore a cimetar after the Persian mode, the handle and sheath of which were loaded with precious stones: he had a diadem on his brows, and a scepter of gold in his hand; in order, as he said, that in that equipage he might deserve to be the husband of a queen. Cleopatra sat on his right hand, in a shining robe, made of the precious linnen appropriated to the use of the goddess Isis, whose name and habit she had the vanity to assume. Upon the same throne, but a little lower, sat Cæsarion, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, and the two other children, Alexander and Ptolomy, whom she had by Antony.

Every one having taken the place assigned them, the heralds, by the command of Antony,

* Hæc mulier Ægyptia ab ebrio imperatore, pretium libidinum, Romanum imperi-
um petiit: & promisit Antonius. Flor. l. 4. c. 11.

and

and in the presence of all the people, to whom the gates of the palace had been thrown open, proclaimed Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Coelosyria, in conjunction with her son Cæsarion. They afterwards proclaimed the other princes, kings of kings, and declared, till they should possess a more ample inheritance, Antony gave Alexander, the eldest, the kingdoms of Armenia and Media, with that of Parthia, when he should have conquered it; and to the youngest, Ptolemy, the kingdoms of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia. Those two young princes were drest after the mode of the several countries, over which they were to reign. After the proclamation, the three princes, rising from their seats, approached the throne, and putting one knee to the ground, kissed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. They had soon after a train assigned them, proportioned to their new dignity, and each his regiment of guards, drawn out of the principal families of his dominions.

Antony repaired early into Armenia, in order to act against the Parthians; and advanced as far as the banks of the Araxis; but the news of what passed at Rome against him, prevented his going on, and induced him to abandon the Parthian expedition. He immediately detached Canidius with sixteen legions, to the coast of the Ionian sea, and joined them himself soon after at Ephesus, to be ready to act, in case of an open rupture between Cæsar and him; which there was great reason to expect.

Cleopatra was of the party; and that occasioned Antony's ruin. His friends advised him to send her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war should be known. But that queen
appre-

apprehending, that by Octavia's mediation he might come to an accommodation with Caesar, gained Canidius, by presents of money, to speak in her favour to Antony, and to represent to him, that it was neither just to remove a princess from this war, who contributed so much towards it on her side; nor useful to himself, because her departure would discourage the Egyptians, of whom the greatest part of his maritime forces consisted. Besides, continued those who talked in this manner, it did not appear, that Cleopatra was inferior, either in prudence or capacity, to any of the princes or kings in his army. She, who had governed so great a kingdom so long, might have learnt in her commerce with Antony, how to conduct the most important and difficult affairs with wisdom and address. Antony did not oppose these remonstrances, which flattered at once his self-love and passion.

From Ephesus, he repaired with Cleopatra to Samos, where the greatest part of their troops had their rendezvous, and where they passed the time in good eating and pleasure. The kings, in their train, exhausted themselves, in making their court by extraordinary expences, and displayed excessive luxury in their entertainments.

It was probably in one of these feasts the circumstance happened, related by Pliny. What-
 Plin. l. 21.
 c. 3.
 ever passion Cleopatra professed for Antony, as he perfectly well knew her character for dissimulation; and that she was capable of the blackest crimes; he apprehended, I know not upon what foundation, that she might have thoughts of poisoning him, for which reason he never touched any dish at their banquets, till it had been tasted. It was impossible that the queen should

should not perceive so manifest a distrust. She employed a very extraordinary method to make him sensible, how ill-founded his fears were; and also, that if she had so bad an intention, all the precautions he took would be ineffectual. She caused the extremities of the flowers to be poisoned, of which the wreaths, worn by Antony and herself at table, according to the custom of the antients, were composed. When their heads began to grow warm with wine, in the height of their gaiety, Cleopatra proposed drinking off those flowers to Antony. He made no difficulty of it; and after having plucked off the end of his wreath with his fingers, and thrown them into his cup filled with wine, he was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, said to him: *I am the poisoner, against whom you take such mighty precautions. If it were possible for me to live without you, judge now whither I wanted either the opportunity, or reason for such an action.* Having ordered a prisoner, condemned to die, to be brought thither, she made him drink that liquor, upon which he died immediately.

The court went from Samos to Athens, where they passed many days in the same excesses. Cleopatra spared no pains to obtain the same marks of affection and esteem, Octavia had received during her residence in that city. But whatever she could do, she could extort from them only forced civilities, that terminated in a trifling deputation, which Antony obliged the citizens to send to her, and of which he himself would be the chief, in quality of a citizen of Athens.

The new consuls, Cajus Sossius, and Domitius A. M. Aetobarbus, having declared openly for Antony, quitted Rome, and repaired to him. Caesar, instead of seizing them, or causing them to be pursued, ordered it to be given out, that they went to him by his permission; and declared publickly, that all persons who were so disposed, had his consent to retire whither they thought fit. By that means he remained master at Rome, and was in a condition to decree, and act whatever he thought proper for his own, or contrary to the interests of Antony.

When Antony was apprized of this, he assembled all the heads of his party; and the result of their deliberations was, that he should declare war against Caesar, and repudiate Octavia. He did both. Antony's preparations for the war were so far advanced, that if he had attacked Caesar vigorously without loss of time, the advantage must inevitably have been wholly on his side: for his adversary was not then in a condition to make head against him, either by sea or land. But voluptuousness carried it, and the operations were put off to the next year. This was his ruin. Caesar, by his delay, had time to assemble all his forces.

The deputies, sent by Antony to Rome, to declare his divorce from Octavia, had orders to command her to quit his house, with all her children, and in case of refusal, to turn her out by force, and to leave no body in it but the son of Antony by Fulvia. An indignity the more sensible to Octavia, as a rival was the cause of it. However, stifling her resentment, she answered the deputies only with her tears; and as unjust as his orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even laboured to appease the people, whom so unworthy an

an action had incensed against him, and did her utmost to mollify the rage of Cæsar. She represented to them, that it was inconsistent with the wisdom and dignity of the Roman people, to enter into such petty differences; that it was only a quarrel between women, which did not merit their expressing any resentment about it; and that she should be very wretched, if she were the occasion of a new war: she, who had solely consented to her marriage with Antony, from the hope, that it would prove the pledge of an union between him and Cæsar. Her remonstrances had a different effect from her intentions, and the people, charmed with her virtue, had still more compassion for her misfortune, and detestation for Antony, than before.

Titius &
Plancus.

But nothing enraged them to such an height as Antony's will, which he had deposited in the hands of the vestal virgins. This mystery was revealed by two persons of consular dignity, who, incapable of suffering the pride of Cleopatra, and the abandoned voluptuousness of Antony, had withdrawn to Cæsar. As they had been witnesses of this will, and knew the secret, they declared it to Cæsar. The vestals made great difficulty to give up an act confided to their care; alledging in their excuse the faith of deposits, which they were obliged to observe; and determined to be forced to it by the authority of the people. The will accordingly being brought into the forum, these three articles were read in it: I. That Antony acknowledged Cæsarion as the lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of kings of kings. III. That he decreed, in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having

been carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same evening on a bed of state, in order to its being sent to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his funeral and interment.

There are some authors, however, who believe this will a piece contrived by Cæsar, to render Antony more odious to the people. In effect, what appearance was there, that Antony, who well knew to what a degree the Roman people were jealous of their rights and customs, should confide to them the execution of a testament, which violated them with so much contempt?

When Cæsar had an army and fleet ready, which seemed strong enough to make head against his enemy, he also declared war on his side. But in the decree granted by the people to that purpose, he caused to be expressed, that it was against Cleopatra: it was from a refinement of policy he acted in that manner, and did not insert Antony's name in the declaration of war, though actually intended against him. For, besides throwing the blame upon Antony, by making him the aggressor in a war against his country, he artfully managed those who were still attached to him, whose number and credit might have proved formidable, and whom he would have been under the necessity of declaring enemies of the republick, if Antony had been expressly named in the decree.

Antony returned from Athens to Samos, where the whole fleet was assembled. It consisted of five hundred ships of war of extraordinary size and structure, having several decks raised one above another, with towers upon the head and stern of a prodigious height; so that those superb vessels upon the sea, might have

been taken for floating islands. Such great crews were necessary for compleatly manning such heavy machines, that Antony, not being able to find mariners enough, had been obliged to take husbandmen, artificers, muleteers, and all sorts of people void of experience, and fitter to give trouble than do service.

On board this fleet were two hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. The kings of Libya, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, and Thrace, were there in person; and those of Pontus, Judæa, Lycaonia, Galatia, and Media, had sent their troops. A more splendid and pompous sight could not be seen, than this fleet when it put to sea, and had unfurled its sails. But nothing equalled the magnificence of Cleopatra's galley, all flaming with gold; its sails of purple; the flags and streamers floating in the wind, whilst trumpets, and other instruments of war, made the heavens resound with airs of joy and triumph. Antony followed her close in a galley almost as splendid. That * queen, drunk with her for-

* Dum Capitolio

Regina dementes ruinas,

Funus & imperio parabat,

Contaminato cum grege turpium

Morbo virorum: quidlibet impotens

Sperare, fortunaque dulci

Ebria.

H O R. Od. 37. l. 1.

Whilst drunk with fortune's heady wine

Fill'd with vast hope, though impotent in arms,

The haughty queen conceives the wild design,

So much her vain ambition charms;

With her polluted band of supple slaves,

Her silken eunuchs, and her Pharian knaves,

The capitol in dust to level low,

[blow!

And give Rome's empire, and the world, a last and fatal

tune

tune and grandeur, and hearkening only to her unbridled ambition, foolishly threatened the capitol with approaching ruin, and prepared, with her infamous troop of eunuchs, utterly to subvert the Roman empire.

On the other side, less pomp and splendor was seen, but more utility. Cæsar had only two hundred and fifty ships, and fourscore thousand foot, with as many horse as Antony. But all his troops were chosen men, and on board his fleet were none but experienced seamen. His vessels were not so large as Antony's, but they were much lighter, and fitter for service.

Cæsar's rendezvous was at Brundisium, and Antony advanced to Corcyra. But the season of the year was over, and bad weather came on; so that they were both obliged to retire, and to put their troops into winter-quarters, and their fleets into good ports, till spring came on.

Antony and Cæsar, as soon as the season ^{A. M.} would admit, took the field both by sea and ^{3973.} land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian ^{Ant. J. C.} gulf in Epirus. Antony's bravest and most ^{31.} experienced officers advised him not to hazard a battle by sea, to send back Cleopatra into Egypt, and to make all possible haste into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to fight there by land; because his army, composed of good troops, and much superior in numbers to Cæsar's, seemed to promise him the victory; whereas a fleet so ill manned as his, how numerous soever it might be, was by no means to be relied upon. But it was long since Antony had not been susceptible of good advice, and had acted only to please Cleopatra. That proud princess, who judged things solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Cæsar's ships could not approach it, without

being dashed to pieces. Besides, she perceived aright, that in case of misfortune, it would be easier for her to escape in her ships, than by land. Her opinion therefore took place against the advice of all the generals.

*The 4th
before the
mones of
September.*

The battle was fought upon the second of September, at the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in sight of both the land armies; the one of which was drawn up in battle upon the north, and the other upon the south of that strait, expecting the event. It was doubtful for some time, and seemed as much in favour of Antony as Cæsar, till the retreat of Cleopatra. That queen, frightened with the noise of the battle, in which every thing was terrible to a woman, took to flight, when she was in no danger, and drew after her the whole Egyptian squadron; that consisted of sixty ships of the line; with which she sailed for the coast of Peloponnesus. Antony, who saw her fly, forgetting every thing, forgetting most himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded a victory to Cæsar, which till then he had exceedingly well disputed. It, however, cost the victor extremely dear. For Antony's ships fought so well after his departure, that though the battle began before noon, it was not over when night came on; so that Cæsar's troops were obliged to pass it on board their ships.

The next day Cæsar seeing his victory complete, detached a squadron in pursuit of Antony and Cleopatra. But that squadron despairing of ever coming up with them, because so far before it, soon returned to join the gross of the fleet. Antony, having entered the admiral-galley, in which Cleopatra was, went and sat down at the head of it; where, leaning his elbows

bows on his knees, and supporting his head with his two hands, he remained like a man overwhelmed with shame and rage; reflecting, with profound melancholly, upon his ill conduct, and the misfortunes she had brought upon him. He kept in that posture, and in those thoughts, during the three days they were going to * Tænarus, without seeing or speaking to Cleopatra. At the end of that time, they saw each other again, and lived together as usual.

The land-army still remained entire, and consisted of eighteen legions, and two and twenty thousand horse, under the command of Canidius, Antony's lieutenant-general, and might have made head, and given Cæsar abundance of difficulty. But seeing themselves abandoned by their generals, they surrendered to Cæsar, who received them with open arms.

From Tænarus Cleopatra took the rout of Alexandria, and Antony that of Libya, where he had left a considerable army to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing he was informed, that Scarpus, who commanded this army, had declared for Cæsar. He was so struck with this news, which he had no room to expect, that he would have killed himself, and was with difficulty prevented from it by his friends. He therefore had no other choice to make, than to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she was arrived.

Soon after she formed another very extraor- A. M.
dinary design. To avoid falling into Cæsar's ^{3974.}
hands, who she foresaw would follow her into ^{Ant. J. C.}
Egypt, she designed to have her ships in ^{30.}
the Mediterranean carried into the red sea,
over the Isthmus between them, which is no

* *Promontory of Laconia.*

more than thirty leagues broad ; and afterwards to put all her treasures on board those ships, and the others which she had in that sea. But the Arabians, who inhabited the coast, having burnt all the ships she had there, she was obliged to abandon her design.

Changing therefore her resolution, she thought only of gaining Cæsar, whom she looked upon as her conqueror ; and to make him a sacrifice of Antony, whose misfortunes had rendered him indifferent to her. Such was this princess's disposition. Though she loved even to madness, she had still more ambition than love ; and the crown being dearer to her than her husband, she entertained thoughts of preserving it at the price of Antony's life. But concealing her sentiments from him, she persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. She joined her ambassadors with his ; but gave them instructions to treat separately for herself. Cæsar would not so much as see Antony's ambassadors. He dismissed Cleopatra's with a favourable answer. He passionately desired to make sure of her person and treasures ; her person, to adorn his triumph ; her treasures, to enable him to discharge the debts he had contracted upon account of this war. He therefore gave her reason to conceive great hopes, in case she would sacrifice Antony to him.

The latter, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country-house, which he had caused to be built expressly on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who had followed him thither. In this retirement it might have been expected, that he would hear with pleasure the wise discourses of those two philosophers. But as they could not banish from his heart his
love

love for Cleopatra, the sole cause of all his misfortunes, that passion, which they had only suspended, soon assumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, abandoned himself again to the charms and caresses of Cleopatra, and with design to please her, sent deputies again to Cæsar, to demand life of him, upon the shameful conditions of passing it at Athens as a private person ; provided Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

This second deputation, not having met with a more favourable reception than the former, Antony endeavoured to extinguish in himself the sense of his present misfortunes, and the apprehension of those that threatened him, by abandoning himself immoderately to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and he regaled one another alternately, and strove with emulation to exceed each other in the incredible magnificence of their banquets.

The queen, however, who foresaw what might happen, collected all sorts of poisons, and to try which of them occasioned death with the least pain, she made the experiment of their virtues and strength upon criminals, in the prisons, condemned to die. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with great torment ; and that those, which were gentle, brought on an easy, but slow death ; she tried the biting of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds of serpents to be applied to different persons. She made these experiments every day, and discovered at length, that the asp was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions ; and which, throwing the person bit into an immediate heaviness and stupefaction, attended with a slight sweating upon the face, and a numb-

ness of all the organs of sense, gently extinguished life ; so that those in that condition were angry when any one awakened them, or endeavoured to make them rise, like people exceedingly sleepy. This was the poison she fixed upon.

To dispel Antony's suspicions and subjects of complaint, she applied herself with more than ordinary sollicitude in caressing him. Though she celebrated her own birth-day with little solemnity, and suitably to her present condition, she kept that of Antony with a splendor and magnificence, above what she had ever instanced before ; so that many of the guests who came poor to that feast, went rich from it.

Cæsar, knowing how important it was to him, not to leave his victory imperfect, marched in the beginning of the spring into Syria, and from thence sat down before Pelusium. He sent to summon the governour to open the gates to him ; and Seleucus, who commanded there for Cleopatra, having received secret orders upon that head, surrendered the place without waiting a siege. The rumour of this treason spread in the city. Cleopatra, to clear herself of the accusation, put the wife and children of Seleucus into Antony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery, by putting them to death. What a monster was this princess ! The most odious of vices were united in her person ; professed immodesty, breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and what crowns all the rest, the false outside of a deceitful amity, which covers a design formed to deliver up to his enemy the person, she loads with the most tender caresses, and with marks of the warmest and most sincere attachment.

Such

Such are the effects of ambition, which was her predominant vice.

Adjoining to the temple of Isis, she had caused tombs and halls to be erected, superb as well for their beauty and magnificence, as their loftiness and extent. Thither she ordered her most precious moveables to be carried; gold, silver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatick wood; as if she intended to raise a funeral pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Cæsar, alarmed for the latter; and apprehending, lest her despair should induce her to burn them, dispatched every day some person to her, to give her great hopes of the most kind and generous treatment, and nevertheless advanced towards the city by great marches.

Upon arriving there, he encamped near the Hippodrome. He was in hopes of making himself master of the city soon, by means of the intelligence he held with Cleopatra, upon which he relied no less than upon his army.

Antony was ignorant of that princess's intrigues, and being unwilling to believe what was told him of them, he prepared for a good defence. He made a vigorous salley, and after having severely handled the besiegers, and warmly pursued to the very gates of their camp a detachment of horse, which had been sent against him, he returned victorious into the city. This was the last effort of his expiring valour; for after this exploit, his fortitude and sense of glory abandoned him, or were never after of any service to him. Instead of making use of this advantage, and of applying himself seriously to his defence, by observing the motions of Cleopatra, who betrayed him; he came, compleatly armed as he was, to throw himself
at

at her feet, and to kiss her hands. The whole palace of Alexandria immediately resounded with acclamations, as if the siege had been raised; and Cleopatra, who had no thoughts but of amusing Antony, ordered a magnificent feast to be prepared, at which they passed the rest of the day, and part of the night together.

Early on the morrow, Antony resolved to attack Cæsar by sea and land. He drew up his land-army upon some eminences in the city, and from thence kept his galleys in view, which were going out of the port, in order to charge those of Cæsar. He waited, without making any motion, to see the success of that attack: but was much astonished, when he saw Cleopatra's admiral strike his flag, when he came in view of Cæsar's, and surrender his whole fleet to him.

This treason opened Antony's eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him, of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity he was for signalizing himself by an extraordinary act of valour, capable, in his sense, of doing him abundance of honour. He sent to challenge Cæsar to a single combat. Cæsar made answer, that if Antony was weary of life, there were other ways to die besides that. Antony, seeing himself ridiculed by Cæsar, and betrayed by Cleopatra, returned into the city, and was a moment after abandoned by all his cavalry. It was then, seized with rage and despair, he flew to the palace, with design to avenge himself upon Cleopatra, but did not find her there.

That artificial princess, who had foreseen what happened, to escape the rage of Antony, had retired into the quarter where stood the tombs of the kings of Egypt, which was fortified

fied with good walls, and of which she had ordered the gates to be closed. She caused Antony to be told, that preferring an honourable death to a shameful captivity, she had killed herself in the midst of her ancestors tombs, where she had also chose her own sepulchre. Antony, too credulous, did not give himself time to examine a piece of news, which he ought to have suspected, after all Cleopatra's other infidelities ; and struck with the idea of her death, he passed immediately from excess of rage to the most violent transports of grief, and thought only of following her into the grave.

Having taken this furious resolution, he shut himself up in his apartment with a slave, and having caused his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to plunge his dagger into his breast. But that slave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Antony, looking upon this action as an example for him to follow, thrust his sword into his body, and fell upon the floor in a torrent of his blood, which he mingled with that of his slave. At that moment an officer of the queen's guards came to let him know, that she was alive. He no sooner heard the name of Cleopatra pronounced, than he opened his dying eyes, and being informed, that she was not dead, he suffered his wound to be dressed, and afterwards caused himself to be carried to the fort, where she had shut herself up. Cleopatra would not permit the gates to be opened to give him entrance; for fear of some surprize ; but she appeared at an high window, from whence she threw down chains and cords. Antony was made fast to these, and Cleopatra assisted by
two

two women, who were the only persons she had brought with her into the tomb, drew him up. Never was there a more moving sight. Antony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the air, turning his dying eyes, and extending his feeble hands towards Cleopatra, as if to conjure her to receive his last breath ; whilst she, with her features distorted, and her arms strained, pulled the cords with her whole strength ; the people below, who could give her no farther aid, encouraging her with their cries.

When she had drawn him up to her, and had laid him on a bed, she tore her cloaths upon him, and beating her breast, and wiping the blood from his wound, with her face glewed to his, she called him her prince, her lord, her dearest spouse. Whilst she made these mournful exclamations, she cut off Antony's hair, according to the superstition of the Pagans, who believed that a relief to those who died a violent death.

Antony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, said to her, to comfort her, that he thought himself happy as he died in her arms ; and that as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, it being no dishonour to a Roman to be overcome by Romans. He afterwards advised her to save her life and kingdom, provided she could do so with honour, and to be upon her guard against the traitors of her own court, as well as the Romans in Cæsar's train, and to trust only Proculeius. He expired with these words.

The same moment Proculeius arrived from Cæsar, who could not refrain from tears at the sad relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword still reeking with Antony's blood,

blood, which was presented to him. He had particular orders to get Cleopatra into his hands, and to take her alive if possible. That princess refused to surrender herself to him. She had, however, a conversation with him, without his entering the tomb. He only came close to the gates, which were well fastened, but gave passage for the voice through chinks. They talked a considerable time together, during which, she continually asked the kingdom for her children; whilst he exhorted her to hope the best, and pressed her to confide all her interest to Cæsar.

After having considered the place well, he went to make his report to Cæsar; who immediately sent Gallus to talk again with her. Gallus went to the gates, as Proculeius had done, and spoke like him through crevices, protracting the conversation on purpose. In the meanwhile Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, entered the tomb by the same window through which she and her women had drawn up Antony, and followed by two officers, who were with him, went down to the gate, where she was speaking to Gallus. One of the two women, who were shut up with her, seeing him come, cried out, quite out of her senses with fear and surprize; *Oh unfortunate Cleopatra you are taken!* Cleopatra turned her head, saw Proculeius, and would have stabbed herself with a dagger, which she always carried at her waste. But Proculeius ran nimbly to her, took her in his arms, and said to her, *You wrong your self, and Cæsar also, in depriving him of so grateful an occasion of shewing his goodness and clemency.* At the same time he forced the dagger out of her hands, and shook her robes, lest she should have concealed poison in them.

Cæsar

Cæsar sent one of his freedmen, named Euphroditus, with orders to guard her carefully, to prevent her making any attempt upon herself, and to behave to her, at the same time, with all the regard and complacency she could desire; he instructed Proculeius at the same time, to ask the queen what request she had to make him.

Cæsar afterwards prepared to enter Alexandria, the conquest of which there were no longer any to dispute with him. He found the gates of it open, and all the inhabitants in extreme consternation, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. He entered the city, conversing with the philosopher Ariæus, upon whom he leant with an air of familiarity, to signify publicly the regard he had for him. Being arrived at the palace, he ascended a tribunal, which he ordered to be erected there; and seeing the whole people prostrate upon the ground, he commanded them to rise. He then told them, that he pardoned them for three reasons: The first, upon account of Alexander their founder; the second, for the beauty of their city; and the third, for the sake of Ariæus one of their citizens, whose merit and knowledge he esteemed.

Proculeius, in the mean time, acquitted himself of his commission to the queen, who at first asked nothing of Cæsar, but his permission to bury Antony, which was granted her without difficulty. She spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite perfumes of the East, and placed it amongst the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

Cæsar

Cæsar did not think proper to see Cleopatra in the first days of her mourning : but when he believed, he might do it with decency, he was introduced into her chamber, after having asked her permission ; being desirous to conceal his designs under the regard he professed her. She was laid upon a little bed, in a very simple and neglected manner. When he entered her chamber, though she had nothing on her but a single tunick, she rose immediately and went to throw herself at his feet, horribly disfigured, her hair loose and disordered, her visage wild and haggard, her voice faltering, her eyes almost dissolved by excessive weeping, and her bosom covered with wounds and bruises. That native grace and lofty mien, which her beauty gave her, were, however, not wholly extinct ; and notwithstanding the deplorable condition, to which she was reduced, even through that depth of grief and dejection, as from a dark cloud, shot forth pointed graces, and a kind of radiance, which brightened in her looks, and in every motion of her countenance. Though she was almost dying, she did not despair of inspiring that young victor with love, as she had formerly done Cæsar and Antony.

The chamber where she received him, was full of the portraits of Julius Cæsar. My lord, said she to him, pointing to those pictures, behold those images of him who adopted you his successor in the Roman empire, and to whom I was obliged for my crown. Then taking letters out of her bosom, which she had concealed in it ; see also, said she, kissing them, the dear testimonies of his love. She afterwards read some of the most tender of them, commenting upon them, at proper intervals,
with

with moving exclamations, and passionate glances ; but she employed those arts with no success ; for whether her charms had no longer the power they had in her youth, or that ambition was Cæsar's ruling passion, he did not seem affected with either her person or conversation ; contenting himself with exhorting her to take courage, and with assuring her of his good intentions. She was far from being insensible of that coldness, from which she conceived no good augury ; but dissembling her concern, and changing the discourse, she thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and he had thought fit to repeat in person. She added, that in revenge she would deliver to him all the treasures of the kings of Egypt. And in effect, she put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. And as Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, reproached her with not declaring the whole, and with having concealed and kept back part of her most valuable effects ; incensed at so great an insult, she rose up, ran to him, and gave him several blows in the face. Then turning towards Cæsar : Is it not an horrible thing, said she to him, that when you have not disdained to visit me, and have thought fit to console me in the sad condition I now am, my own domesticks should accuse me before you of retaining some woman's jewel ; not to adorn a miserable person as I am, but for a present to your sister Octavia, and your wife Livia ; that their protection may induce you to afford a more favourable treatment to an unfortunate princess ?

Cæsar was exceedingly pleased to hear her talk in that manner, not doubting but the love of life inspired her with such language. He told

told her, she might dispose as she pleased of the jewels she had reserved ; and after having assured her, that he would treat her with more generosity and magnificence than she could imagine, he withdrew, imagining that he had deceived her, and was deceived himself.

Not doubting but Cæsar intended to make her serve as an ornament to his triumph, she had no other thoughts than to avoid that shame by dying. She well knew, that she was observed by the guards who had been assigned her, and under colour of doing her honour, followed her every where ; and besides that her time was short, Cæsar's departure approaching. The better therefore to amuse him, she sent to desire, that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Antony, and take her leave of him. Cæsar having granted her that permission, she went thither accordingly to bath that tomb with her tears, and to assure Antony, to whom she addressed her discourse, as if he had been present before her eyes, that she would soon give him a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal protestation, which she accompanied with sighs and laments, she caused the tomb to be covered with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath, and from the bath to table, having ordered it to be served magnificently. When she rose from table, she wrote a letter to Cæsar ; and having made all quit her chamber except her two women, she shut the door, sat down upon a bed, and asked for a basket of figs, which a peasant had lately brought. She placed it by her, and a moment after lay down as if she had fallen asleep. But that was the effect of the aspick, which was concealed a-

mongst the fruit ; that serpent having stung her in the arm, which she had held to it, the poison immediately communicated itself to the heart, and killed her without pain, or being perceived by any body. The guards had orders to let nothing pass without a strict search into it ; but the disguised peasant, who was one of the queen's faithful servants, played his part so well, and there appeared so little appearance of design in a basket of figs, that the guards suffered him to enter. So that all Caesar's precautions were ineffectual.

He did not doubt Cleopatra's resolution, after having read the letter she had wrote him, to desire that he would suffer her body to be laid in the same tomb with that of Antony, and instantly dispatched two officers to prevent it. But notwithstanding all the haste they could make, they found her dead.

That * princess was too haughty, and too

* Ausa, & jacentem visere regiam
Vultu sereno fortis, & asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum,
Deliberatâ morte ferocior :
Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidious,
Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.

H O R. Od. 37. lib. 1.

*Not the dark palace of the realms below
Can awe the furious purpose of her soul,
Calmly she looks from her superiour woe,
That can both death and fear controul,
Provokes the serpent's sting, his rage disdains,
And sees his poisons glide thro' all her veins.
Invidious to the victor's fancy'd pride,
She will not from her own descend,
Disgrac'd, a vulgar captive, by his side
His pompous triumph to attend ;
But fiercely flies to death, and bids her sorrow end.*

much

much above the vulgar, to suffer herself to be led in triumph at the wheels of the victor's chariot. Determined to die, and thence become capable of the fiercest resolutions, she saw with dry eyes and indifference, the mortal venom of the asp's glide into her veins.

She died at thirty-nine years of age, of which she had reigned twenty-two from the death of her father. The statues of Antony were thrown down, and those of Cleopatra remained as they were; Archibius, who had long been in her service, having given Cæsar a thousand talents, that they might not be treated as Antony's had been.

After Cleopatra's death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a præfect sent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolomies in Egypt, to date its commencement from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued two hundred, fourscore and thirteen years, from the year of the world 3681, to 3974.

Conclusion of the Ancient History.

WE have seen hitherto, without speaking of the first and antient kingdom of Egypt, and of some states, separate, and in a manner entirely distinct from the rest, three great successive empires, founded on the ruins of each other, subsist, during a long series of ages, and at length entirely disappear; the empire of the Babylonians, the empire of the Medes and Persians, and the empire of the Macedonians and the Grecian princes, successors of Alexander

the Great. A fourth empire arises, that of the Romans, which having already swallowed up most of those, that have preceded it, will extend its conquests, and after having subjected all to its power by force of arms, be itself torn in a manner into different pieces, and by being so dismembred, make way for the establishment of almost all the kingdoms, which now divide Europe, Asia, and Africa. Behold here, to speak properly, an abridged picture of all ages ; of the glory and power of all the empires of the world ; in a word, of all that human greatness has most splendid, and most capable of exciting admiration ! All this, generally speaking, by an happy concurrence is herein united ; height of genius, delicacy of taste, attended with solid judgment ; the excellent talent of eloquence, carried to the highest degree of perfection, without departing from the Natural and the True ; the glory of arms, with that of arts and sciences ; valour in conquering, and ability in government. What a multitude of great men of all kinds does it not present to our view ? What powerful, what glorious kings ! What great captains ! What famous conquerors ! What wise magistrates ! What learned philosophers ! What admirable legislators ! We are transported with beholding in certain ages and countries, as if peculiar to themselves, an ardent zeal for justice, a passionate love for their country, a noble disinterestedness, a generous contempt of riches, and an esteem for poverty, which astonish and amaze us, so much they appear above human nature.

In this manner we think and judge. But whilst we are in admiration and extasy at the view

view of so many shining virtues, the supreme judge, who can alone estimate all things, sees nothing in them, but trifle, meanness, vanity, and pride ; and whilst mankind are continually busied in perpetuating the power of their families, in founding kingdoms, and eternising themselves, if that were possible ; God, from his throne on high, overthrows all their projects, and makes even their ambition the means of executing his views, infinitely superiour to our understandings. He alone knows his operations and designs. All ages are present to him : *conspētor seculorum*. He has assigned Eccles. all empires their fate and duration. In all the xxxix. 15. different revolutions we have seen, that nothing has come to pass by chance. We know, that under the image of that statue, which Nebuchodonosor saw, of an enormous height and terrible aspect, with the head of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, and the legs of iron mixed with clay, God thought fit to represent the four great empires, uniting in them, as we have seen in the course of this history, all that is glorious, grand, formidable, and powerful. And of what has the Almighty occasion for overthrowing this immense colossus ? *A small stone was cut out Dan. c. ii. without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer-threshing floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them, and the stone, that smote the image, became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.*

We see with our own eyes the accomplishment of this admirable prophecy of Daniel, at least in part. JESUS CHRIST, who descended to cloath himself with flesh and blood in the sacred womb of the blessed virgin, without the participation of man, is the small stone that came from the mountain without human aid. The prevailing characteristics of his person, of his relations, his appearance, his manner of teaching, his disciples; in a word, of every thing that relates to him, were simplicity, poverty, and humility; which were so extreme, that they concealed from the eyes of the proud Jews the divine lustre of his miracles, how shining soever it was, and from the sight of the devil himself, as penetrating and attentive as he was, the evident proofs of his divinity.

Notwithstanding that seeming weakness, and even meanness, JESUS CHRIST will certainly conquer the whole universe. It is under this idea a prophet represents him to us: *Ex-*
 Apoc. vi. *ivit vincens ut vinceret; He went forth conquer-*
 2. *ring and to conquer. His work and mission*
are, to set up a kingdom for his father, which
shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom which
shall not be left to other people; like those of
which we have seen in the history; but it shall
break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms,
and it shall stand for ever.

The power granted to JESUS CHRIST, the founder of this empire, is without bounds, measure, or end. The kings, who glory so much in their power, have nothing which approaches in the least to that of JESUS CHRIST. They do not reign over the will of man, which is real dominion. Their subjects can think as they please independently of them.

There

There are an infinitude of particular actions done without their order, and which escape their knowledge, as well as their power. Their designs often miscarry and come to nothing, even in their own life-time. But with JESUS CHRIST it is quite otherwise. *All power is given unto him in heaven and in earth.* Matth. xxviii. 18. He exercises it principally upon the hearts and minds of man. Nothing is done without his order or permission. Every thing is disposed by his wisdom and power. Every thing co-operates directly or indirectly, to the accomplishment of his designs.

Whilst all things are in motion and fluctuate upon earth; whilst states and empires pass away with incredible rapidity, and human race, vainly employed in the external view of these things, are also drawn in by the same torrent, almost without perceiving it; there passes in secret an order and disposition of things unknown and invisible, which however determines our fate to all eternity. The duration of ages has no other end, than the formation of the bodies of the elect; which augments and tends daily towards perfection. When it shall receive its final accomplishment by the death of the last of the elect; *Then cometh the end,* 1 Cor. xv. 24. *when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power.* God grant that we may all have our share in that blessed kingdom, whose law is truth, whose king is love, and whose duration is eternity. *Fiat, Fiat.*

THE TWO AND TWENTIETH BOOK.

Of ARTS and SCIENCES.

INTRODUCTION.

How useful the invention of arts and sciences has been to mankind. It ought to be attributed to God.

THE history of arts and sciences, and of the persons, who have most eminently distinguished themselves by them, to speak properly, is the history of human wit, which in some sense does not give place to that of princes and heroes, whom common opinion places in the highest degree of elevation and glory. I do not intend, by speaking in this manner, to strike at the difference of rank and condition, nor to confound or level the order, which God himself has instituted amongst men. He has placed princes, kings, and rulers of states over our heads, with whom he has deposited his authority ; and after them generals of armies, ministers, magistrates, and all those with whom the sovereign divides the

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cares

cares of government. The honours paid them, and the preheminance they possess, are no usurpation on their side. It is the divine providence itself, that has assigned them their high stations, and demands submission, obedience, and respect for those that sit in its place.

But there is also another order of things, and, if I may be permitted to say so, another disposition of the same providence, which, without regard to the first kind of greatness I have mentioned, establishes a quite different species of eminence, in which distinction arises neither from birth, riches, authority, nor elevation of place; but from merit and knowledge alone. It is the same providence, that regulates rank also of this kind, by the free and entirely voluntary dispensation of the talents of the mind, which it distributes in what proportion, and to whom it pleases, without any regard to quality and nobility of person. It forms, from the assemblage of the learned of all kinds, a new species of empire, infinitely more extensive than all others, which takes in all ages and nations, without regard to age, sex, condition, or climate. Here the plebeian finds himself upon the level with the nobleman, the subject with the prince, nay, often his superiour.

The principal law and justest title to deserving solid praises in this empire of literature, is, that every member of it be contented with his own place; that he be void of all envy for the glory of others; that he looks upon them as his colleagues, destined, as well as himself, by providence, to enrich society, and become its benefactors; and that he remembers, with gratitude, from whom he holds his talents, and for what ends they have been conferred upon him.

him. For, indeed, how can those, who distinguish themselves most amongst the learned, believe, that they have that extent of memory, facility of comprehending, industry to invent and make discoveries ; that beauty, vivacity, and penetration of mind from themselves ; and if they possess all these advantages from something exteriour, how can they assume any vanity from them ? But can they believe they may use them at their own pleasure, and seek in the application they make of them, only their own glory and reputation ? As providence places kings upon their thrones solely for the good of their people, it distributes also the different talents of the mind solely for the benefit of the publick. But in the same manner as we sometimes see in states usurpers and tyrants, who, to exalt themselves alone, oppress all others ; there may also arise amongst the learned, if I may be allowed to say so, a kind of tyranny of the mind, which consists in regarding the successes of others with an evil eye ; in being offended at their reputation ; in lessening their merit ; in esteeming only one's self, and in affecting to reign alone : A hateful defect, and very dishonourable to learning. The solid glory of the empire of learning in the present question, I cannot repeat it too often, is not to labour for one's self, but for mankind ; and this, I am so bold to say, is what places it exceedingly above all the other empires of the world.

The victories which take up the greatest part of history, and attract admiration the most, have generally no other effects, but the desolation of countries, the destruction of cities, and the slaughter of men. Those so much boasted heroes of antiquity, have they made a single man

man the better ! Have they made many men happy ? And if by the founding of states and empires, they have procured posterity some advantage, how dearly have they made their contemporaries pay for it, by the rivers of blood they have shed ? Those very advantages are confined to certain places, and have a certain duration. Of what utility to us, at this day, are either Nimrod, Cyrus, or Alexander ? All those great names, all those victories, which have astonished mankind from time to time ; those princes and conquerors, with all their magnificence and vast designs, are returned into nothing with regard to us ; they are dispersed like vapours, and are vanished like phantoms.

But the inventors of arts and sciences have laboured for all ages of the world. We still enjoy the fruits of their application and industry. They have provided, at a great distance, for all our occasions. They have procured for us all the conveniencies of life. They have converted all nature to our uses. They have reduced the most indocile matter to our service. They have taught us to extract from the bowels of the earth, and even from the deeps of the sea, the most precious riches ; and what is infinitely more estimable, they have opened to us the treasures of all the sciences ; and have guided us to knowledge the most sublime, the most useful, and the most worthy of our nature. They have put into our hands, and placed before our eyes, whatever is most proper to adorn the mind, to direct our manners, and to form good citizens, good magistrates, and good princes.

These are part of the benefits we have received from those who have invented, and brought arts and sciences to perfection. The

better to know their value, let us transport ourselves in imagination back to the infancy of the world, and those gross ages, when man, condemned to eat his bread by the sweat of his brow, was without aids and instruments, and obliged, however, to cultivate the earth, that he might extract nourishment from it ; to erect himself huts and roofs for his security ; to provide cloathing for his defence against the frosts and rains ; and, in a word, to find out the means to satisfy all the necessities of life. What labours, what difficulties, what disquiets ! All which are spared us.

We do not sufficiently consider the obligations we are under to those equally industrious and laborious men, who made the first essays in arts, and applied themselves in those useful but elaborate researches. That we are commodiously housed, that we are cloathed, that we have cities, walls, habitations, temples ; to their industry and labour we are indebted for them all. It is by their aid our hands cultivate the fields, build houses, make stuffs and habits, work in brass and iron ; and to make a transition from the useful to the agreeable, that we use the pencil, handle the chissel and graver, and touch instruments of musick. These are solid and permanent advantages and emoluments, which have always been encreasing from their origin ; which extend to all ages and nations, and to all mankind in particular ; which will perpetuate themselves throughout all times, and continue to the end of the world. Have all the conquerors together done any thing, that can be imagined parallel with such services ? All our admiration, however, turns generally on the side of these heroes in blood, whilst we
scarce

scarce take notice of what we owe to the inventors of arts.

But we must go farther back, and render the just homage of praise and acknowledgment to him, who alone has been, and was capable of being, their author. This is a truth confessed by the Pagans themselves; and Cicero attests most expressly, that men have all the conveniencies of life from God alone: *Omnes mortales sic habent, Lib. 3. De
externas commoditates a diis se habere.* nat. deor.
a. 86.

Pliny the naturalist explains himself still in a stronger manner, where he speaks of the wonderful effects of simples and herbs in regard to distempers; and the same principle may be applied to a thousand other effects, which seem more astonishing than those. * “ It is, says
“ he, to understand very ill the gifts of the
“ divinity, and to repay them with ingrati-
“ tude, to believe them capable of being in-
“ vented by man. It is true, chance seems to
“ have given birth to these discoveries; but
“ that chance is God himself; by which name,
“ as well as by that of nature, we are to un-
“ derstand him alone, who is the great parent
“ of all things.”

In effect, how little soever we reflect upon the relation and proportion which appears, for instance, between the works of gold, silver, iron, brass, lead, and the rude mass as it lies hid in the earth, of which they are formed; between linnen cloth, whether fine and thin, or coarse and strong, and flax and hemp; be-

* Quæ si quis ullo fortè ab homine excogitari potuisse credit, ingrâte debum munera intelligit. — Quod certè casu repertum quis dubitet? Hic ergo casus, hic est ille, qui plurima in vita invenit Deus. Hoc habet nomen, per quem intelligitur eadem, & parens rerum omnium & magistra natura. Plin.

tween stuffs of all sorts, and the fleece of sheep ; between the glossy beauty of wrought silks, and the deformity of an hideous insect : we ought to assure our selves, that man, abandoned to his own faculties, could never have been able to make such happy discoveries. It is true, as Pliny has observed, that chance has seemed to give birth to most inventions : But who does not see, that God, to put our gratitude to trial, takes pleasure to conceal himself under those fortuitous events, as under so many veils, thro' which our reason, whenever so little enlightened by faith, traces with ease the beneficent hand, which confers so many gifts upon us ?

The divine providence shews itself no less in many modern discoveries, which now appear to us exceedingly easy ; and however escaped, during all preceding ages, the knowledge and enquiries of the many persons, always intent upon the study and perfection of arts ; till it pleased God to open their eyes, and to shew them what they did not see before.

In this number may be reckoned both wind and water-mills, so commodious for the uses of life, which however are not very antient. The antients engraved upon copper. Whence was it, that they never reflected, that by impressing upon paper what they had engraved, they might write that in a moment, which they had been so long in cutting with a tool ? It is, notwithstanding, only about three hundred years, since the art of printing books has been discovered. The same may be said of gun-powder, of which our antient conquerors were in great want, and which would have very much abridged the length of their sieges. The compass, that is to say, the needle touched with the loadstone, suspended upon an axis, is of such wonderful use,

use, that to it alone we stand indebted for the knowledge of the new world, and all the people of the earth are united by commerce. How came it, that mankind, who knew all the other properties of the loadstone, were so long without discovering one of such great importance ?

We may conclude in the same manner, I think, not only in regard to the incredible difficulty of some discoveries, which do not offer themselves by any outward appearances, and are, however, almost as old as the world ; but from the extreme facility of other inventions, which seem to guide us to them, and yet have not been discovered, till after many ages ; that both the one and the other are absolutely disposed by the direction of a superiour Being, which governs the universe with infinite wisdom and power.

We are indeed ignorant of the reasons, which have induced God to observe a different conduct in the manifestation of these mysteries of nature, at least in a great measure ; but that conduct is, however, no less to be revered. What he suffers us sometimes to see of it, ought to instruct us in respect to all the rest. Christopher Columbus conceives the design to go in search of new worlds. He addresses himself, for that end, to several princes, who look upon his enterprize as madness, and it seemed such in effect. But he had within him, with regard to this enterprize, an inherent impulse, and ardent and continual desire, which rendered him passionate, restless, and invincible to all obstacles, and remonstrances. Who was it, that inspired him with this bold design, and gave him such inflexible constancy, but God alone, who had resolved from all eternity to enlighten the people of that new world with the lights of the gospel.

gospel. The invention of the compass was the occasion of it. Providence had assigned a precise time for this great event. The moment could neither be advanced nor retarded. Hence it was that this discovery had been so long deferred, and was afterwards so suddenly and so courageously executed.

After these observations, which I thought useful to many of my readers, I shall proceed to my subject. I shall divide all that relates to the arts and sciences into three books. In the first I shall treat of agriculture, commerce, architecture, sculpture, painting, and musick. In the second, I shall treat of the art-military, and what regards the raising and maintaining troops; battles, and sieges, both by sea and land. In the last book, with which my work will conclude, I shall run over the arts and sciences, that have most relation to the mind: Grammar, poetry, history, rhetoric, and philosophy, with all the branches, that either depend on, or have any relation to them.

I must observe beforehand, with the same freedom I have professed hitherto, that I undertake to treat a subject, of which many parts are almost entirely unknown to me. For this reason I shall have occasion for new indulgence. I demand permission therefore, to make use freely, as I have always done, (and am now reduced to do more than ever) of all the helps I shall meet with in my way. I shall hazard losing the glory of being an author and inventor: But I willingly renounce it, provided I have that of pleasing my readers, and of being any way useful to them. Profound erudition must not be expected here, though the subject seems to imply it. I do not pretend to instruct
the

the learned ; my aim is to make choice of that from all the arts, which may best suit the capacities of the generality of readers.

CHAPTER I. OF AGRICULTURE.

ARTICLE I.

Antiquity of agriculture. Its utility. The esteem it was in amongst the antients. How important it is to place it in honour, and how dangerous to neglect the application to it.

I MAY with justice place agriculture at the head of the arts, which has certainly the advantage of all others, as well with regard to its antiquity as utility. It may be said to be as antient as the world, having taken birth in the terrestrial paradise itself, when Adam, newly come forth from the hands of his Creator, still possessed the precious but frail treasure of his innocence ; God having placed him in the garden of delights, commanded him to cultivate it ; *ut operaretur illum : to dress and keep* Gen. ii. it. That culture was not painful and laborious, 15. but easy and agreeable ; it was to serve him for amusement, and to make him contemplate in the productions of the earth the wisdom and liberality of his Master.

The sin of Adam having overthrown this order, and drawn upon him the mournful decree, which condemned him to eat his bread by the sweat of his brow ; God changed his

delight into chastisement, and subjected him to hard labour and toil; which he had never known, had he continued ignorant of evil. The earth, become stubborn and rebellious to his orders, to punish his revolt against God, brought forth thorns and thistles. Violent means were necessary to compel it to pay man the tribute, of which his ingratitude had rendered him unworthy, and to force it, by labour, to supply him every year with the nourishment, which before was given him freely and without trouble.

From hence therefore we are to trace the origin of agriculture, which from the punishment it was at first, is become, by the singular goodness of God, in a manner the mother and nurse of human race. It is in effect the source of solid wealth and treasures of a real value, which do not depend upon the opinion of men; which suffice at once to necessity and enjoyment, by which a nation is in no want of its neighbours, and often necessary to them; which make the principal revenue of a state, and supply the defect of all others, when they happen to fail. Though mines of gold and silver should be exhausted, and the species made of them lost; though pearls and diamonds should remain hid in the womb of the earth and sea; though commerce with strangers should be prohibited; though all arts, which have no other object than embellishment and splendor, should be abolished; the fertility of the earth alone would afford an abundant supply for the occasions of the publick; and furnish subsistence both for the people and armies to defend it.

We ought not to be surprized therefore, that agriculture was in so much honour amongst the antients; it ought rather to seem wonderful that

that it ever should cease to be so; and that of all professions the most necessary and most indispensable should have fallen into so great contempt. We have seen in the whole course of our history, that the principal attention of the wisest princes, and the most able ministers, was to support and encourage husbandry.

Amongst the Assyrians and Persians the Satrapæ were rewarded, in whose governments the lands were well cultivated, and those punished who neglected that part of their duty. Numa Pompilius, one of the wisest kings and Dion. Hæ-
tiquity mentions, and who best understood and Antiq.
discharged the duties of the sovereignty, divided the whole territory of Rome into different Rom. l. 2.
cantons. An exact account was rendered him p. 135.
of the manner in which they were cultivated, and he caused the husbandmen to come before him, that he might praise and encourage those, whose lands were well manured, and reproach others with their want of industry. The riches of the earth, says the historian, were looked upon as the justest and most legitimate of all riches, and much preferred to the advantages obtained by war, which are of no long duration. An- Id. l. 3.
cus Martius, the fourth king of the Romans, p. 177.
who piqued himself upon treading in the steps of Numa, next to the adoration of the gods, and reverence for religion, recommended nothing so much to the people, as the cultivation of lands, and the breeding of cattle. The Romans long retained this disposition, and in the latter times, whoever did not discharge this duty well, drew upon himself the animadversion of the censor.

* Agrum male colere Censorium probrum adjudicabatur.
Plin. l. 18. c. 3.

It is known from never-failing experience, that the culture of lands and the breeding of cattle, which is a consequence and necessary part of it, has always been a certain and inexhaustible source of wealth and abundance. Agriculture was in no part of the world in higher consideration than in Egypt, where it was the particular object of government and policy ; and no country was ever better peopled, richer or more powerful. The strength of a state is not to be computed by extent of country, but by the number of its citizens, and the utility of their labour.

It is hard to conceive, how so small a tract as the land of Promise should be able to contain and nourish an almost innumerable multitude of inhabitants : this was from the whole country's being cultivated with extreme application.

What history relates of the opulence of several cities in Sicily, and in particular of the immense riches of Syracuse, of the magnificence of its buildings, of the powerful fleets it fitted out, and the numerous armies it had on foot, would appear incredible, if not attested by all the antient authors. From whence can we believe, that Sicily could raise wherewith to support such enormous expences, if not from the increase of their lands, which were improved with wonderful industry ? We may judge of their application to the culture of land, from the care taken by one of the most powerful kings of Syracuse, (Hiero II.) to compose a book upon that subject, in which he gave wise advice and excellent rules, for supporting and augmenting the fertility of the country.

Besides

Besides Hiero, * other princes are mentioned, who did not think it unworthy their birth and rank, to leave posterity precepts upon agriculture; so sensible were they of its utility and value: Of this number were Attalus, surnamed Philometor, king of Pergamus, and Archelaus of Cappadocia. I am less surprized, that Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and other philosophers, who have treated politicks in particular, have not omitted this article, which makes an essential part of that subject. But who would expect to see a Carthaginian general amongst these authors? I mean Mago. He must have treated this matter with great extent, as his work, which was found at the taking of Carthage, consisted of twenty-eight volumes. So high a value was set on it, that ^{D. Sylla-} the senate ordered it to be translated, and one ^{nus.} of the principal magistrates took upon himself the care of doing it. Cassius Dionysius of U- ^{Varr. de} tica had before translated them out of the Pu- ^{re rust. l. i.} nick language into Greek. ^{c. i.}

Cato, the censor, had however published his books upon the same subject. For Rome was not then entirely depraved; and the taste for the antient simplicity still continued in a certain degree. She remembered with joy and admiration, that in antient times her senators lived almost continually in the country; that they cultivated their lands with their own hands, without ever deviating into rapacious and unjust desires of those of other men; and that †

* De cultura agri præcipere principale fuit, etiam apud exteros. *Plin. l. 18. c. 3.*

† Antiquitus abaratro arcescebantur ut consules fierent.—Atilium sua manu

spargentem semen qui missi erant convenerunt—Suos agros studiosè colebant, non alienos cupidè appetebant. *Cic. pro Rosc. Amer. n. 50.*

consuls and dictators were often taken from the plow. In those happy times, says Pliny*, the earth, glorious in seeing herself cultivated by the hands of triumphant victors, seemed to make new efforts, and to produce her fruits with greater abundance ; that is, no doubt, because those great men, equally capable of handling the plow and their arms, of sowing and conquering lands, applied themselves with more attention to their labour, and were also more successful in effect of it.

And indeed, when a person of condition, with a superiour genius, applies himself to arts, experience shews us, that he does it with greater ability, force of mind, industry, taste, and with more inventions, new discoveries, and various experiments ; whereas an ordinary man confines himself servilely within the common road, and to his antient customs. Nothing opens his eyes, nothing raises him above his old habitudes ; and after many years of labour he continues still the same, without making any progress in the profession he follows.

Those great men I have mentioned, had never undertaken to write upon agriculture, if they had not been sensible of its importance, which most of them had personally experienced. We know what a taste Cato had for rural life, and with what application he employed himself in it. The example of an antient Roman, whose farm adjoined to his, was of in-

* Quænam ergo tantæ ubertatis causa erat ? Ipsorum tunc manibus Imperatorum colebantur agri (ut fas est credere) gaudente terra vomere laureato, & triumphali aratore : sive illi eadem cu-

râ semina tractabant, quâ bella, eademque diligentia arva disponebant, quâ castra : sive honestis manibus omnia latius proveniunt, quoniam & curiosius fiunt. *Plin. l. 18. c. 3.*

finite

finite service to him. (This was Manius Curius Dentatus, who had thrice received the honour of triumph.) Cato often went to walk in it, and considering the * small extent of that land, the poverty and simplicity of the house, he was struck with admiration for that illustrious person, who, when he became the greatest of the Romans, having conquered the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, cultivated this little land with his own hands, and after so many triumphs, inhabited so wretched a house. It is here, † said he to himself, that the ambassadors of the Samnites found him by his fire side, boiling roots, and received this wise answer from him, after having offered him a great sum of money: That gold was a thing of small value to one, who could be satisfied with such a dinner; and that for his part, he thought it more glorious to conquer those who had that gold, than to possess it himself. Full of these thoughts, Cato returned home, and making an estimate of his house, lands, slaves, and expences, he applied himself to husbandry with more ardor, and retrenched all needless superfluity.

Though very young at that time, he was the admiration of all that knew him. Valerius Flaccus, one of the most noble and most powerful persons of Rome, had lands contiguous

- * Hunc, & incomptis Curium capillis
 Utilem bello tulit & Camillum,
 Sæva paupertas, & avitus apto
 Cum lare fundus.

† Curio ad focum sedenti
 magnum auri pondus Sam-
 nites cum attulissent, repu-
 diati ab eo sunt. Non enim
 aurum habere præclarum sibi

*videri dixit. Sed iis qui habe-
 rent aurum imperare. Cicero
 makes Cato himself speak thus;
 in his book upon old age. n. 55.*

to Cato's small farm. He there often heard his slaves speak of his neighbour's manner of living, and of his labour in the field. He was told, that in the morning he used to go to the small cities in the neighbourhood, to plead and defend the causes of those, who applied to him for that purpose. That from thence he returned into the field, where throwing a mean coat over his shoulders in winter, and almost naked in summer, he worked with his servants, and after they had done, he sat down with them at table, and eat the same bread, and drank the * same wine.

Var. 1. 3. We see by these examples how far the anti-
c. 2. ent Romans carried the love of simplicity, poverty, and labour. I read with singular pleasure the tart and sensible reproaches, which a Roman senator makes to the augur Appius Claudius, upon the magnificence of his country-houses, by comparing them to the farm where they then were. " Here, said he, we
" see neither painting, statues, carving, nor
" mosaick work ; but to make us amends,
" we have all that is necessary to the cultivation of lands, the dressing of vines, and the
" feeding of cattle. In your house every thing
" shines with gold, silver, and marble ; but
" there is no sign of arable lands or vineyards,
" We find there neither ox, nor cow, nor
" sheep. There is neither hay in cocks, vintage in the cellars, nor harvest in the barn,

* This puts me in mind of a fine saying of Pliny the younger's, who gave his freedmen the same wine he drank himself. When some body represented that this must be very chargeable to him : No, said he ; my freedmen don't drink the same wine I drink, but I the same they do. Quia scilicet liberti mei non idem quod ego bibunt, sed idem ego quod liberti. Plin. 1. 2. Epist. 6.

“ Can

“ Can this be called a farm? In what does it
 “ resemble that of your grandfather, and great
 “ grandfather?”

After luxury was introduced to this height amongst the Romans, the lands were far from being cultivated, or producing revenues as in antient days. * At a time when they were in the hands of slaves or abject mercenaries, what could be expected from such workmen, who were forced to their labour only by ill treatment? This was one of the great, and most imprudent neglects, remarked by all the writers upon this subject in the latter times: because to cultivate lands properly, it is necessary to take pleasure and be delighted with the work, and for that end to find it for one's interest and gain to follow it.

It is therefore highly important, that the whole land of a kingdom should be employed to the best advantage, which is much more useful than to extend its limits; in order to this, each master of a family, residing in the small towns and villages, should have some portion of land appropriated to himself; whence it would follow, that this field, by being his own, would be dearer to him than all others, and be cultivated with application; that his family would think such employment their interest, attach themselves to their farm, subsist upon it, and by that means be kept within the country. When the country-people are not in their own estates, and are only employed for hire, they are very negligent in their labour,

* Nunc eadem illa (arva) tulorum non eadem emolumenta esse, quæ fuerint Imperatorum. *Plin.* l. 18. c. 3.
 — Nos miramur ergas-

and even work with regret. * A lord and land-holder ought to desire, that their lands and estates should continue a long time in the same family, and that their farmers should succeed in them from father to son ; from whence a quite different regard for them would arise : And what conduced to the interest of particulars, would also promote the general good of the state.

But when an husbandman or farmer has acquired some wealth by their industry and application, which is much to be desired by the landlord for his own advantage ; † it is not by this gain, says Cicero, the rents laid on them are to be measured, but by the lands themselves, they turn so much to their account ; the produce of which ought to be equitably estimated and examined into, for ascertaining what new imposition of rents they will bear. For to rack-rent and oppress those, who have applied themselves well to their business, only because they have done so, is to punish, and indeed to abolish, industry ; whereas in all well-regulated states, it has always been thought necessary to animate it by emulation and reward.

One reason of the small produce of the lands, is, because agriculture is not looked upon as an art, that requires study, reflections, and rules : every one abandons himself to his

* Lucium Volusium asseverantem audivi, patris familias felicissimum fundum esse, qui colonos indigenas haberet, & tanquam in paterna possessione notos, jam inde a cunâbulis longa familiaritate retineret. *Colum. l. 1. c. 7.*

† Cum Aratori aliquod onus imponitur, non omnes, si quæ sunt præterea, facultates, sed arationis ipsius vis ac ratio consideranda est, quid ea sustinere, quid pati, quid efficere possit ac debeat. *Cic. Verr. de frum. n. 199.*

own taste and method, whilst no body thinks of making a serious scrutiny into them, of trying experiments, and * of uniting precepts with experience. The antients did not think in this Colum. manner. They judged three things necessary to success in agriculture. *The will* : this employment should be loved, desired, and delighted in, and followed in consequence out of pleasure. *The power* : it is requisite to be in a condition to make the necessary expences for the breeding and fattening of cattle and fowl of all sorts, for labour, and for whatever is necessary to the manuring and improving of lands ; and this is what most of our husbandmen want. *The skill* : it is necessary to have studied maturely all that relates to the cultivation of lands, without which the two first things are not only ineffectual, but occasion great losses to the master of a family, who has the affliction to see, that the produce of the land is far from answering the expences he has been at, or the hopes he had conceived from them ; because those expences have been laid out without discretion, and without knowledge of the application of them. To these three heads a fourth may be added, which the antients had not forgot, that is, † *experience*, which presides in all arts, is infinitely above precepts, and makes even the faults we have committed our advantage : for, from doing wrong, we often learn to do right.

* *De bonis & imitari alios, & aliter ut faciamus quidam experientia tentare. Varro, l. 1. c. 18.*

† *Usus & experientia dominantur in artibus, neque est ulla disciplina in qua non*

peccando discatur. Nam ubi quid perperam administratum cesserit improspere, vitatur quod fefellerat, illuminaturque rectam viam docentis magisterium. Colum. ibid.

Agriculture was in quite different esteem with the antients, to what it is with us : which is evident from the multitude and quality of the writers upon this subject. Varro cites to the number of fifty amongst the Greeks only. He wrote upon it also himself, and Columella after him. The three *Latin* authors, Cato, Varro, and Columella, enter into a wonderful detail upon all the parts of agriculture. Would it be an ungrateful and barren employment to compare their opinions and reflections with the modern practice ?

Colum. in
præem.
l. i.

Columella, who lived in the time of Tiberius, deplores, in a very warm and eloquent manner, the general contempt, into which agriculture was fallen in his time, and the persuasion men were under, that to succeed in it, there was no occasion for a master. “ I see at Rome,” said he, the schools of philosophers, rhetoricians, geometricians, musicians, and what is more astonishing, of people solely employed, some in preparing dishes proper to pique the appetite, and excite gluttony ; and others to adorn the head with artificial curls, but not one for agriculture *. However, the rest might be well spared ; and the republick flourished long without any of those frivolous arts ; but it is not possible to want that of husbandry, because life depends upon it.

“ Besides, is there a more honest or legal means of preserving, or encreasing, a patrimony ? Is the profession of arms of this kind, and the acquisition of spoils always dyed with human blood, and amassed by the

* Sine ludicris artibus—
olim satis felices fuere futu-
ræque sunt urbes : at sine a-

gricultoribus nec consistere
mortales, nec ali posse ma-
nifestum est.

“ ruin of an infinity of persons? Or is com-
 “ merce so, which, tearing citizens away from
 “ their native country, exposes them to the fu-
 “ ry of the winds and seas, and drags them
 “ into unknown worlds in pursuit of riches?
 “ Or is the trade * of money and usury more
 “ laudable, odious and fatal as they are, even to
 “ those they seem to relieve? Can any one
 “ compare any of these methods with wise
 “ and innocent agriculture, which only the de-
 “ pravity of our manners can render contemp-
 “ tible, and by a necessary consequence, almost
 “ barren and useless?

“ Many people imagine, that the sterility of
 “ our lands, which are much less fertile now
 “ than in times past, proceeds from the inter-
 “ perance of the air, the inclemency of sea-
 “ sons, or from the alteration of the lands
 “ themselves; that weakned and exhausted by
 “ long and continual labour, are no longer ca-
 “ pable of producing their fruits with the
 “ same vigour and abundance. This is a mis-
 “ take, says Columella: we ought not to ima-
 “ gine, that the earth, to whom the author
 “ of nature has communicated a perpetual fe-
 “ cundity, is liable to barrenness as to a kind
 “ of disease. After its having received from
 “ its master a divine and immortal youth,
 “ which has occasioned its being called the
 “ common mother of all things, because it
 “ always has brought forth, and ever will bring
 “ forth from its womb, whatever subsists, it is
 “ not to be feared, that it will fall into decay
 “ and old age like man. It is neither to the
 “ badness of the air, nor to length of time,

* An fœneratio probabilior sit etiam his invisa quibus suc-
 currere videtur.

“ that

“ that the barrenness of our lands is to be im-
 “ puted ; but solely to our own fault and neg-
 “ lect : we should blame only our selves, who
 “ abandon those estates to our slaves, which
 “ in the days of our ancestors, were cultivated
 “ by the most noble and illustrious.”

This reflection of Columella's seems very so-
 lid, and is confirmed by experience. The
 land of Canaan, (and as much may be said of
 other countries,) was very fertile, at the time
 the people of God took possession of it, and
 had been seven hundred years inhabited by the
 Canaanites. From thence to the Babylonish
 captivity was almost a thousand years. In the
 latter days, there is no mention of its being ex-
 hausted, or worn out by time, without speak-
 ing of the after ages. If therefore it has been
 almost entirely barren during a long course of
 years, as is said, we ought to conclude with
 Columella, that it is not from its being ex-
 hausted or grown old ; but because it is de-
 serted and neglected. And we ought also to
 conclude, that the fertility of some countries,
 of which so much is said in history, arises
 from the particular attention of the inhabi-
 tants in tilling the land, in cultivating the vines,
 and breeding of cattle : of which it is time to
 say something.

* Non igitur fatigatione, sed inertia minus benigne
 quemadmodum plurimi cre- nobis arva respondent. Co-
 diderant, nec senio, sed nostra lum. l. 2. c. 2.

ARTICLE II.

Of tillage. Countries famous amongst the antients for abounding with corn.

I shall confine my self, in speaking of tillage, to what relates to wheat, as the most important part of that subject.

The countries most famous for abounding in corn were Thrace, Sardinia, Sicily, Egypt, and Africa.

Athens brought every year only from Byzantium four hundred thousand *medimni* of wheat, as Demosthenes informs us. The *medimnus* contained six bushels, and was sold in his time for no more than five drachmas, that is to say, for fifty pence *French*. How many other cities and countries did Thrace furnish with corn, and how fertile must it consequently have been?

It is not without reason that * Cato the censor, whose gravity of manners occasioned him to be surnamed *the Wise*, called Sicily the magazine and nursing mother of the Roman people. And indeed, it was from thence Rome brought almost all her corn, both for the use of the city, and the subsistence of her armies. We see also in Livy, that Sardinia supplied the Romans with abundance of corn.

All the world knows how much the land of Egypt, watered and enriched by the Nile, which

* Ille M. Cato Sapiens cellam penariam resp. nostræ, nutricem plebis Romanæ Siciliam nominavit — Ita- que ad omnes res Sicilia pro- vincia semper usi sumus; ut, quicquid ex se posset afferre id non apud eos nasci sed domi nostræ conditum putare- mus. *Cic. Verr. c. 3. n. 5.*

served

Sext. Au-
rel. vict.
in epito.

served it instead * of the husbandman, abounded with corn. When Augustus had reduced it into a Roman province, he took particular care of the bed and canals of this beneficent river, which by degrees had been much clogged with mud, through the neglect of the kings of Egypt, and caused them to be cleansed by the Roman troops, whom he left there. From thence came regularly every year twenty millions of bushels of wheat. Without this supply, the capital of the world was in danger of perishing by famine. She saw herself in this condition under Augustus, for there remained only three days provision of corn in the city. That prince, who was full of tenderness for the people, had resolved to poison himself, if the expected fleets did not arrive before the expiration of that time. They came, and the preservation of the people was attributed to the good fortune of the prince. We shall see, that wise precautions were afterwards taken, to avoid the like danger for the future.

Plin. l. 18.
c. 8.

Africa did not give place to Egypt in point of fertility. In one of its countries, one bushel of wheat sown has been observed to produce an hundred and fifty. From a single grain almost four hundred ears would sometime spring up, as we find by letters to Augustus and Nero, from those who governed Africa under them. This was no doubt very uncommon. But the same Pliny, who relates these facts, assures us, that in Boeotia and Egypt it was a very common thing for a grain to produce an hundred and fifty ears; and he observes, upon this occasion, the attention of the divine providence,

* Nilus ibi coloni vice fungitur. *Plin.*

which

which hath ordained, that of all plants that, which it had appointed for the nourishment of man, and in consequence the most necessary, should be also the most fruitful.

I have said, that Rome at first brought almost all her corn from Sicily and Sardinia. In process of time, when she had made herself mistress of Carthage and Alexandria, Africa and Egypt became her store-houses. Those cities sent numerous fleets every year, freighted with wheat for the use of the people, then lords of the universe. And when the harvest happened to fail in one of these provinces, the other came in to its aid, and supported the capitol of the world. Corn, by this means, was at a very low price at Rome, and sometimes sold Liv. l. 31. n. 50. for no more than two *asses*, or pence, a bushel. The whole coast of Africa abounded exceedingly with corn, in which part of the wealth Id. l. 35. n. 62. of Carthage consisted. The city of Leptis only, situated in the lesser Syrtis, paid a daily tribute to it of a talent, that is to say, of three thousand livres. In the war against Philip, the Id. l. 43. n. 6. Carthaginian ambassadors supplied the Romans with a million of bushels of corn, and five hundred thousand of barley. Those of Massinissa gave them also as much.

Constantinople was supplied in the same manner, when the seat of empire was transplanted thither. An admirable order was observed in both these cities, for subsisting the immense number of people that inhabited them. The emperor Constantine caused almost four-score thousand bushels of corn, which came Socrat. l. 2. c. 13. from Alexandria, to be distributed daily at Constantinople; this was for the subsistence of six hundred and forty thousand men, the Roman bushel serving only eight men. When

Ælian.
Spartian.
in Sever.

the emperor Septimus Severus died, there was corn in the publick magazines for seven years, expending daily seventy five thousand bushels, that is to say, bread for six hundred thousand men. What a provision was this against the dearth of any future years!

Besides these I have mentioned, there were many other countries very fruitful in corn.

Cic. in
Verr. de
frum n.
112.
Plin. l. 18.
c. 7.

For the sowing of an acre only one *medimnus* of corn was required: *medimnum*. The *medimnus* consisted of six bushels, each of which contained very near twenty pound weight of corn. (It is observed, in the *Speſtacle de la Nature*, that the usual and sufficient quantity for sowing an acre, is an hundred and twenty pound of corn: which comes to the same amount.) The highest produce of an acre was ten *medimni* of corn, that is to say, ten for one; but the ordinary produce was eight, with which the husbandmen were well satisfied. It is from Cicero we have this account; and he must have known the subject very well, as he uses it in the cause of the Sicilians against Verres. He speaks of the country of the Leontines, which was one of the most fruitful in Sicily. The highest price of a bushel of corn amounted to three Sesterces, or seven pence half-penny. It was less than that of France by almost one fourth. Our Septier contains twelve bushels, and is often sold for ten livres. By that estimate our bushel is worth sixteen pence, and something more; that is to say, twice the price of the bushel of the antients, and something more.

Cic. ibid.
n. 173.

All that Cicero relates upon the subject of corn, as to its price, how much of it was necessary for sowing an acre, and what quantity it produced being sown, ought not to be considered

sidered as an established rule ; for that might vary considerably according to soils, countries, and times.

The antients had different methods of thresh- Plin. l. 18. c. 30.
ing their corn. They made use, for that purpose, either of sledges armed with points, or of horses, which they made trample upon it, or of flails, with which they beat the sheaves, as is now customary in many places.

They also used various methods for preserving corn a great while, especially by shutting it up close in the ear in subterranean caverns, which they covered on all sides with straw, to defend it against damps ; closing the entrance with great care, to prevent the air from getting in. Varro assures us, that corn would keep Lib. 1. de re rust. c. 5.
good in that manner for fifty years.

ARTICLE III.

SECT. I.

Cultivation of the vine. Wines celebrated in Greece and Italy.

WE may believe, that mankind have been no less industrious in the cultivation of the vine, than in that of corn, though they applied themselves to it later. The scripture informs us, that the use of wine was not known till after the deluge. *Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard.* Gen. ix. 20. It was, no doubt, known before, but only in the grape and not as liquor. Noah planted it by order, and discovered the use that might be made of the fruit, by pressing out and preserving the liquor. He was deceived by its sweetness and strength, which he had not experienced : *And he drank of the wine and was drunken.* The Pagans

transferred the honour of the invention of wine to Bacchus, of which they never had much knowledge; and what is said of Noah's drunkenness, made them consider Bacchus as the god of drunkenness and debauch.

The offspring of Noah, having dispersed into the several countries of the world, carried the vine with them from place to place, and taught the use to be made of it. Asia was the first to experience the sweets of this gift, and
Iliad. l. 7. soon imparted it to Europe and Africa. We see in Homer, that in the time of the Trojan war, part of the commerce consisted in the freight of wines.

The wine was kept in those days in large earthen jars, or in the skins of beasts, which custom continues to this day in countries, where wood is not plenty. It is believed that we are indebted to the Gauls, that settled on the banks of the Po, for the useful invention of preserving our wine in vessels of wood exactly closed, and for retaining it within bounds, notwithstanding its fermentation and strength. From that time the keeping and transporting it became more easy, than when it was kept in earthen vessels, which were liable to be broke, or in bags of skin, apt to unfew or grow mouldy.

Odyss.
l. 9. v. 197 Homer mentions a very famous wine of Maronæa in Thrace, which would bear mixing with twenty times as much water. But it was common for the natives to drink it unmixed.
 * Nor have authors been silent upon the exte-

* *Natis in usum lætitiæ scyphis
 Pugnare Thracum est. H O R. Od. 27. l. 1.
 With bowls for mirth and joy design'd
 To fight befits the Thracian kind.*

five brutalities, to which that nation were subject. Pliny tells us, that * Mucianus, who had Plin. l. 14. c. 4. been thrice consul, being in that country in his own time, had experienced the truth of what Homer says, and seen, that in a certain measure of wine they put fourscore times as much water; which is four times as much as the Grecian poet speaks of.

The same author mentions wines much celebrated in Italy, which took their name from Opimius, in whose consulate they were made, which were preserved to his time, that is, almost two hundred years, and were not to be purchased for money. A very small quantity of this, mingled with other wines, communicated to them, as was pretended, a very surprising strength and exquisite flavour. † How great soever the reputation of the wines made in the consulate of Opimius might be, or in that of Anicius, for the latter were much cried up, Cicero set no such great value upon them; and above an hundred years before Pliny writes, he found them too old to be supportable.

Ibid.

Greece and Italy, which were distinguished in so many other respects, were particularly so, by the excellency of their wines.

In Greece, besides many others, the wines of Cyprus, Lesbos, and Chio, were much celebrated. Those of Cyprus are in great esteem to this day. || Horace often mentions those of

* *This was the celebrated Mucianus, who had so much share in the election of Vespasian to the empire.* *timæ credo: sed nimia vetustas nec habet eam, quam quærimus, suavitatem, nec est sanè jam tolerabilis. Cic. in Brut. n. 287.*

† *Atqui ex notæ sunt op-*

|| *Hic innocentis pocula Lesbii*

Duces sub umbra,

Od. 7. l. 1.

Beneath the shade you here may dine,

And quaff the harmless Lesbian wine.

U 3

Lesbos,

Lesbos, and represents them as very wholesome and agreeable. But Chio carried it from all the other countries, and eclipsed their reputation so much, that the inhabitants of that island were thought to be the first who planted the vine, and taught the use of it to other nations. * All these wines were in so great esteem, and of so high a price, that at Rome, so late as to the infancy of Lucullus, in their greatest entertainments they drank only one cup of them at the end of the feast. Their prevailing qualities were sweetness, and a delicious flavour.

Plin. l. 14. c. 12. Pliny was convinced, that the libations of milk instituted by Romulus, and Numa's prohibition to honour the dead by pouring wine upon the funeral pile, were proofs that in those days vines were very scarce in Italy. They encreased considerably in the following ages; and it is very probable, the Romans were obliged to the Greeks, whose vines were in high repute, on that account; as they were, in process of time also, for their taste for arts and sciences. It was † the wines of Italy, in the time of Camillus, that brought the Gauls again thither. The charms of that liquor, which was entirely new to them, were powerful attractions to induce them to quit their country.

Two thirds of all the places famed for the goodness of wine were in Italy. || The an-

* Tanta vino Græco gratia erat, ut singulæ potiones in convivio darentur.—L. Lucullus puer apud patrem nunquam lautum convivium vidit, in quo plus semel Græcum vinum daretur. *Plin ex Varro. l. 14. c. 14.*

† Eam gentem (Gallorum) traditur fama, dulcedine fru-

gum, maximèque vini novatum voluptate captam, Alpes transisse. *Liv. l. 5. n. 33.*

|| In Campano agro vites populis nubunt, maritòque complexæ atque per ramos earum procacibus brachiis geniculato cursu scandentes, cacumina æquant. *Plin. l. 14. c. 1.*

tient

tient custom of that country, which it still retains, was to fasten their * vines to trees, and especially to the poplar, to the tops of which they projected their slender circling-branches: this had a very fine effect, and was a most agreeable object to the eye. In several places they made use of props as we do.

The country of Capua alone supplied them with the Maffick, † Calenian, Formian, Cæcuban, and Falernian, so much celebrated by Horace. It must be allowed, that the goodness of the soil, and the happy situation of all those places, contributed very much to the excellency of these wines; but we must also admit, that they owed it more to the care and industry of the husbandmen, who applied themselves with their utmost attention to the cultivation of the vines. The proof of which is, that in || Pliny's time, which was about an

* From this custom three elegant expressions in Horace take birth, all derived from the same metaphor. He says, he marries the trees to the vines. *Epod. 2.*

Ergo aut adulta vitium propagine
Altas maritat populos.

He calls the same trees, widowers, when the vines are no longer fastened to them. *Od. 5. l. 4.* Aut vitem viduas ducit ad arbores. And gives the name of batchelors to the trees which never had the vine annexed to them: *Platanusque cælebs Evincet ulmos. Od. 15. l. 2.*

† Cæcubum, & prælo domitam Caleno

Tu bibes uvam: mea nec Falernæ

Temperant vites, neque Formiani

Pocula colles.

Od. 20. l. 1.

Cæcubus and Calenum join

To fill thy bowls with richest wine:

My humble cups do not produce

The Formian or Falernian juice.

|| Quod jam intercidit incuria coloni—Cura, culturaque id contigerat. Exolevit hoc quoque culpa (Vini-
nitorum) copiarum potius quam bonitati studentium. *Plin. l. 14. c. 6.*

hundred years after Horace, the reputation of these wines, formerly so famous, was entirely come to nothing, through the negligence and ignorance of the vine-dressers, who, blinded by the hope of gain, were more intent upon having a great quantity, than good wine.

Lib. 14.
c. 3.

Pliny cites several examples of the extreme difference which cultivation will produce in the same land. Amongst others, he tells us of a celebrated Grammarian, who lived in the reign of Tiberius and Claudius, and purchased a vineyard at a small price, which had long been neglected by its antient masters. The extraordinary care he took of it, and the peculiar manner in which he cultivated it, occasioned a change in a few years, that seemed little less than a prodigy; *ad vix credibile miraculum perduxit*. So wonderful a success, in the midst of other vineyards, which were almost always barren, drew upon him the envy of all his neighbours; who, to cover their own sloth and ignorance, accused him of magick and sorcery.

Athen. l. 1.
p. 26.

Amongst the wines of Campania, which I have mentioned, the Falernian was in great vogue. It was very strong and rough, and was not to be drank till it had been kept ten years. To soften that roughness, and qualify its austerity, they made use of honey, or mingled it with Chio, and by that mixture made it excellent. This ought, in my opinion, to be ascribed to the refined and delicate taste of those voluptuous Romans, who, in the latter times, spared nothing to exalt the pleasures of the table, by whatever was most agreeable, and most capable of gratifying the senses. There were other Falernian wines more temperate and soft, but not so much esteemed.

The antients, who so well knew the excellency Anth. of wine, were not ignorant of the dangers at-^{l. 10. p. 429} tending too free an use of it. I need not mention the law of Zaleucus, by which the Epizephyrian Locrians were universally forbid the use of wine upon pain of death, except in case of sickness. The inhabitants of Marseilles and Melitus shewed more moderation and indulgence, and contented themselves with prohibiting it to women. At * Rome, in the early ages, young persons of liberal condition were not permitted to drink wine till the age of thirty; but as for the women, the use of it was absolutely forbid to them; and the reason of that prohibition was, because intemperance of that kind might induce them to commit the most excessive crimes. Seneca complains bitterly, that this custom was almost universally violated in his times. The † weak and delicate complexion of the women, says he, is not changed; but their manners are changed, and no longer the same. They value themselves upon carrying excess of wine to as great an height as the most robust men. Like them they pass whole nights at table, and with a full glass of unmixed wine in their hands, they glory in vying with them, and, if they can, in overcoming them.

The emperor Domitian passed an edict in ^{Sueton. in} relation to wine, which seemed to have a just ^{Domit.} foundation. One year having produced abun-^{c. 7.} dance of wine and very little corn, he believed

* Vini usus olim Romanis feminis ignotus fuit, ne scilicet in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur: quia proximus a Libero patre intemperantiæ gradus ad inconcessam vene-

rem esse consuevit. *Val. Max.* l. 1. c. 1.

† Non minus, pervigilant, non minus potant; & inero viros provocant.

they

Philost.
vit. Apol-
lon. l. 6.
c. 7.

they had more occasion for the one than the other, and therefore decreed, that no more vines should be planted in Italy; and that in the provinces, at least one half of the vines should be rooted up. Philostratus expresses himself, as if the decree ordained, that they should all be pulled up, at least in Asia; because, says he, the seditions, which arose in the cities of that province, were attributed to wine. All Asia deputed Scopelianus to Rome upon that occasion, who professed eloquence at Smyrna. He succeeded so well in his remonstrances, that he obtained not only, that vines should continue to be cultivated, but that those who neglected to do so, should be laid under a fine. It is believed, that his principal motive for abolishing his edict, was the dispersing of papers with two Greek verses in them, signifying; that let him do what he would, there would still remain wine enough for the sacrifice, in which an emperor should be the offering.

Saeton. in
Domitian.
c. 14.

It seems, however, says Mr. Tillemont, that his edict subsisted throughout the greatest part of the West, to the reign of Probus; that is almost two hundred years. That emperor, who after many wars had established a solid peace in the empire, employed the troops in many different works, useful to the publick; to prevent their growing enervate through sloth, and that the soldier might not eat his pay without deserving it. So that as Hannibal had formerly planted the whole country of Africa with olive trees, lest his soldiers, for want of something to do, should form seditions; Probus, in like manner, employed his troops in planting vines upon the hills of Gaul, Pannonia, Mæsia, and in many other countries.

tries. He permitted in general the Gauls, Pannonians, and Spaniards, to have as many vines as they thought fit; whereas, from the time of Domitian, that permission had not been granted to any nation of the world.

S E C T. II.

Produce of the vines in Italy in Columella's time.

BEFORE I conclude this article upon vines, I cannot omit extracting a passage of Columella, which explains what profit was made of them in his time. He enters, for this purpose, into a detail, which seemed sufficiently curious to me, and makes an exact calculation of the expence and produce of a vineyard of seven acres. His design is to prove, that the cultivation of vines is more beneficial than any other kind of husbandry, and than that of corn itself. That might be true in his times, but it is not so in ours, at least in the general opinion. This difference arises, perhaps, from the various accidents, to which the vine is subject in France; frosts, rains, blights, which are not so much to be apprehended in hot countries. To these may be added the high price of casks in plentiful years, which swallows up the greatest part of the vine-dresser's profit; and the customs, which very much diminish the price of wines. Even amongst the antients, all were not of Columella's opinion. * Cato indeed gave vines the first rank, but those only

* Cato quidem dicit [primum agrum esse] ubi vineæ possunt, esse bono vino & multo—Alii dant primum bonis pratis—Vineam sunt qui putent sumptu fructum devorare. *Varr. de re rustic. l. 1. c. 7, 8.*

which

which produced the most excellent liquor, and in great abundance. With the same conditions we still think in the same manner. Many gave the preference to pasture lands; and their principal reason was, that the charges in the culture of vines were almost equal to their produce.

I. *The charges necessary for seven acres of vines.*

These are,

livres.

1. For the purchase of a slave, whose labour sufficed for the cultivation of seven acres of vines, eight thousand sestercii	1000
2. For a land of seven acres, seven thousand sestercii	875
3. For the props and other necessaries expences for seven acres, fourteen thousand sestercii.	1750
These three sums added together, amount to twenty-nine thousand sestercii	3625
4. For the interest of the aforesaid sum of twenty-nine thousand sestercii for two years, during which the land does not bear, and the money lies dead, three thousand four hundred and fourscore sestercii	486
The total of the expence amounts to thirty two thousand, four hundred and eighty sestercii	4060

II. *Produce of seven acres of vines.*

The yearly produce of seven acres of vines, is six thousand three hundred sesterces; that is, seven

seven hundred, fourscore and seven livres, ten sols. Of which what follows is the proof.

The *Culeus* is a measure, which contains twenty *amphoræ*, or forty *utnæ*. The *amphora* contains twenty-six quarts, and somewhat more. The *Culeus*, in consequence, contains five hundred and twenty quarts, which make two hogheads of the Paris measure, wanting fifty-six quarts.

The lowest value of the *Culeus* is three hundred sesterterii; that is to say, thirty seven livres, ten sols. The least produce of each acre was three *Culei*, which were worth nine hundred sesterterii, * or an hundred and twelve livres, ten sols. The seven acres therefore produced a profit of six thousand three hundred sesterterii, which make seven hundred, fourscore and seven livres, ten sols.

The interest of the total expence, which is thirty-two thousand, four hundred and fourscore sesterterii, that is, four thousand and sixty livres; this interest, I say, at six *per. cent. per annum*, amounts to one thousand, nine hundred and forty-four sesterterii, and something more, or two hundred and forty-three livres. The interest of the same sum, arising from the annual produce of a vineyard of seven acres, is six thousand three hundred sesterterii; that is, seven hundred, fourscore and seven livres, ten pence. From whence may be seen, how much the latter interest exceeds the former, which was, however, the common interest of money. This is what Columella would prove.

* Columella observes, that each acre of Seneca's vineyards produced eight *Culei*. l. 3. c. 3. And Varro, that in many places an acre produced from ten to fifteen. l. 1. c. 2.

Viviradices.

Besides this produce, Columella reckons another profit arising from *Layers*. The layer is a young shoot or branch of a vine, which is set in the earth, where it takes root in order for propagation of the plant. Each acre produced yearly ten thousand of these layers at least, which sold for three thousand sesteratii, or three hundred and seventy five livres. The layers produced therefore from the seven acres, twenty one thousand sesteratii, or two thousand, six hundred and twenty livres. Columella computes the produce of these layers at the lowest value ; for as to himself he assures us, his own vineyards produced regularly twice as much. He speaks only of the vines of Italy, and not of those of other provinces.

Adding the produce of the wine to that of the plants or layers, the profit upon seven acres of vines amounted to three thousand four hundred livres.

The produce of these layers, unknown to our vine-dressers, proceeded, no doubt, from the vine's being very rare in a great number of provinces ; and the reputation of the vines of Italy having spread universally, people came from all parts to buy those layers, and to enable themselves, by their means, to plant good vineyards in places, which had none before, or which had only such as were indifferent.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the breeding of cattle.

I HAVE said, that the breeding of cattle is a part of agriculture. It certainly is an essential part of it, not only because cattle, from the abundance of their dung, supply the earth with the manure, which is necessary to the preservation and renovation of its vigour, but because they share with man in the labours of husbandry, and spare him the greatest part of the toil. * Hence it was that the ox, the laborious companion of man in tilling the ground, was so highly considered by the antients, that whoever had killed one of them, was punished with death, as if he had killed a citizen; no doubt, because he was esteemed a kind of murderer of human race, whose nourishment and life stand in absolute need of the aid of this animal.

The † farther we look back into antiquity, the more we are assured, that in all nations the breeding of cattle produced considerable revenues. Without speaking of Abraham, whose numerous family of domesticks shews the multitude of his flocks and herds, or of his kinsman Laban, the holy scripture observes, that the greatest part of Job's riches consisted in cattle; and that he possessed seven thousand sheep, Job. i. 3.

* Bos laboriosissimus hominis socius agriculturae cuius tanta fuit apud antiquos veneratio, ut tam capitale esset bovem necasse quam civem. *Colum. in præf. l. 6.*

† In rusticatione vel antiquissima est ratio pascendi, eademque & quaestuosissima. *Ibid.*

three thousand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she-asses.

It was by this the land of Promise, though of very moderate extent, enriched its princes, and the inhabitants of the country, whose numbers were incredible, amounting to more than three millions of souls, including women and children.

2 Kings
iii. 4.

We read that Ahab, king of Israel, imposed an annual tribute upon the Moabites, whom he had conquered of an hundred thousand sheep. How much must this number have multiplied in a short time, and what abundance occasioned throughout the whole country !

2 Chron.
xxvi. 10.

The holy scripture, in representing Uzziah as a prince accomplished for every part of a wise government, does not fail to inform us, that he had a great number of husbandmen and vineyards, and that he fed abundance of cattle. He caused great enclosures to be made in the countries, and vast houses for fothering the flocks and herds, with lodges fortified with towers, for the shepherds to retire to with their flocks, and to secure them against irruptions ; he also took care to have great numbers of cisterns cut for watering the flocks ; works not so splendid, but no less estimable than the most superb palaces. It was, without doubt, the particular protection, which he gave to all who were employed in the cultivation of lands, or the breeding of cattle, that rendered his reign one of the most opulent Judæa had ever seen. And he did thus, saith the scripture, *because he loved husbandry : Erat enim homo agriculturæ deditus.* The text is still stronger in the Hebrew ; *quia diligebat terram : because he loved the ground.* He took delight in it, perhaps cultivated it with his own hands ; at least, he made husbandry honourable,

honourable, he knew all the value of it, and was sensible that the earth, manured with diligence and skill, was an assured source of riches both to the prince and people; he therefore thought attention to husbandry one of the principal duties of the sovereignty, though often the most neglected.

The scripture says also of the holy king Ezechiah, *Moreover he provided him cities and possessions of flocks and herds in abundance, for God had given him substance very much.* It is easy to conceive, that the shearing of sheep alone, without mentioning other advantages from them, could not but produce a very considerable revenue in a country, where an almost innumerable multitude were continually fed. And hence we find; that the time for shearing of sheep was a season of festivity and rejoicing.

Amongst the antient Pagans, the riches of the kings consisted in cattle; as we find from Latinus in Virgil, and Ulysses in Homer. It was the same amongst the Romans, who by the antient laws did not pay fines in money; but in oxen and sheep.

We must not be surprized, after having considered the great advantages produced by the breeding and feeding of cattle; that so wise a man as Varro has not disdained to give us an extensive account of all the beasts, that are of any use to the country, either for tillage; breed; or for carriage, and the other conveniencies of man. He speaks first of small cattle, sheep, goats, and hogs: *greges*. He proceeds next to the large beasts, oxen, asses, horses, and camels: *armenta*. And concludes with fowl; which may be called domestick animals, *villaticæ pecudes*; pigeons; turtle-doves; fowls, geese,

Columel.
præf. l. 6.

geese, and many others. Columella enters into the same detail ; and Cato the censor runs over part of it. The latter, upon being asked what was the surest and shortest method to enrich a country ; replied, the feeding of cattle, which is attended with an infinity of advantages to those who apply themselves to it with diligence and industry.

And indeed, the beasts, that labour in the field, render mankind continual and important services ; and the advantages he reaps from them, do not conclude even with their lives. They divide with him, or rather spare him the most laborious part of the work, without which the earth, however fruitful in itself, would continue barren, and not produce him any encrease. They serve him in bringing home with safety into his house, the riches he has amassed without doors, and to carry him on his journies. Many of them cover his table with milk, cheese, wholesome food, and even the most exquisite dishes ; and supply him with the rich materials of the stuffs he is in want of for cloathing himself, and with a thousand other conveniencies of life.

We see, from what has been said hitherto, that the country, covered with corn, wine, flocks, and herds, is a real Peru to man, and a much more valuable and estimable one, than that from whence he extracts gold and silver, which, without the other, would not preserve him from perishing with hunger, thirst, and cold. Placed in the midst of a fertile territory, he beholds around him at one view all his riches ; and without quitting his little empire, he finds immense and innocent treasures within his reach. These he regards, no doubt, as gifts from the liberal hand of that supreme Master, to whom
he

he is indebted for all things ; but he regards them also as the fruits of his own labour, and that renders them still more grateful to him.

S E C T. V.

Innocency and pleasure of a rural life, and of agriculture.

THE revenues and profits, which arise from the culture of lands, is neither the sole nor the greatest advantages accruing from it. All the authors, who have wrote upon * rural life, have always spoken of it with the highest praises, as of a wise and happy state, which inclines a man to justice, temperance, sobriety, sincerity, and in a word, to every virtue ; which in a manner shelters him from all passions, by keeping him within the limits of his duty, and of a daily employment, that leaves him little leisure for vices : luxury, avarice, injustice, violence and ambition, the almost inseparable companions of riches, take up their ordinary residence in great cities, which supply them with the means and occasions : the hard and laborious life of the country does not admit of these vices. This gave room for the poets to feign, that Astræa, the goddess of justice, had her last residence there, before she entirely quitted the earth.

* In utre luxuries creatur : ex luxuria existat avaritia necesse est : ex avaritia erumpat audacia : inde omnia scelera gignuntur — In rusticis moribus, in victu arido, in hac horrida incultaque vita istiusmodi maleficia gigni non solent — Cupiditates

porro quæ possunt esse in eo, qui ruris temper habitari, & in agro colendo vixerit ? Quæ vita maximè disjuncta a cupiditate, & cum officio conjuncta — Vita autem rustica parcimonie, diligentie, justitie, magistra est. *Cic. pro Rosc. Amer. n. 39. & 75.*

We see in Cato the form of a prayer used by the country-people, wherein may be discerned the precious tokens of the ancient tradition of men, who attributed every thing to God, and addressed themselves to him in all their temporal necessities, because they knew he presided over all things, and that all things depended on him. I shall repeat a good part of it, and hope it will not be unacceptable. It is in a ceremony, called *Solitaurilia*, and according to some *Suovetaurilia*, in which the country-people made a procession round their lands, and offered libations and sacrifices to certain gods.

“ Father Mars, said the suppliant, I humbly
 “ implore and conjure you, to be propitious
 “ and favourable to me, my family, and all
 “ my domesticks, in regard to the occasion of
 “ the present procession in my fields, lands,
 “ and estate: To prevent, avert, and remove
 “ from us all diseases, known and unknown,
 “ desolations, storms, calamities, and pestilential
 “ air: To make our plants, corn, vines,
 “ and trees, grow and come to perfection:
 “ To preserve our shepherds and flocks: To
 “ grant thy preservation of life and health to
 “ me, my family, and all my domesticks.”
 What a reproach is it that christians, and often those who have the greatest share in the goods of this world, should in these days be so little careful to demand them from God, and be ashamed to thank him for them! Amongst the Pagans, all their meals began and ended with prayers, which are now banished from almost all our tables.

Colum.

l. 1. c. 8.

Columella enters into a detail upon the duties of the master or farmer, in regard to his domesticks, which seems full of reason and humanity.

manity. " Care ought to be taken, says he, " that they are well clad, but without finery ; " that they are defended against the wind, cold " and rain. In directing them, a * medium " should be observed between too great indul- " gence and excessive rigour, in order to make " them rather fear, than experience, severities " and chastisements ; and they should be pre- " vented from doing amiss by diligence, and " their master's presence : for good conduct " consists in preventing, instead of punishing, " faults. When they are sick, care should be Ibid. l. 12. " taken that they are well tended, and that " they want for nothing ; which is the certain " means to make their business grateful to " them." He recommends also the same usage of slaves, who often worked laden with chains, and who were generally treated with great rigour.

What he says with regard to the mistress of Colum. in a country-family, is very remarkable. Prov. l. 12. Providence, in uniting man and woman, intended they should be a mutual support to each other, and for that reason assigned to each of them their peculiar functions. The man, designed for business without doors, is obliged to expose himself to heat and cold ; to undertake voyages by sea, and journeys by land ; to support the labours of peace and war ; that is, to apply himself to the works of the field, and in carrying arms : all exercises, which require a body robust, and capable of bearing fatigues. The woman, on the contrary, too weak to sustain these offices, is reserved for affairs within doors. The care of the house is confided to her ; and as the proper qualities for her employment are

* The lands were cultivated by slaves.

attention and exactitude, and fear renders us more exact and attentive, it was necessary that the woman should be more timorous. On the contrary, because the man acts and labours almost always without doors, and is often obliged to defend himself against injuries, God has infused boldness and courage into him. Hence * from all ages, both amongst the Greeks and Romans, the government of the house devolved upon the women, that their husbands, after having transacted their business abroad, might return to their houses free from all cares, and find a perfect tranquillity at home.

This is what Horace describes so elegantly in one of his odes †, which Dryden translates thus :

*But if a chaste, and pleasing wife,
To ease the bus'ness of his life
Divides with him his household care,
Such as the Sabine matrons were;
Such as the swift Apulian's bride.
Sunburnt and swarthy though she be,
Will fire for winter's nights provide,
And without noise will oversee
His children, and his family ;*

* Nam & apud Græcos, requiem forensium exercitatio-
& mox apud Romanos usque onum omni cura deposita pa-
in patrum nostrorum memo- tribus-familias intradomesti-
riam, fere domesticus labor cos penates se recipientibus,
matronalis fuit, tanquam ad

† Quod si pudica mulier in partem juvet
Domum atque dulces liberos,
(Sabina qualis, aut perusta solibus
Pernicis uxor Appuli)
Sacrum vetustis extruat lignis focum
Lassi sub adventum viri ;
Claudensque textis cratibus lætum pecus,
Discenta siccet ubera,
Et horna dulci vina promens dolio,
Dapes inemptas apparet : &c. H O R. Ep. 2.

And

*And order all things till be come,
Sweaty, and over-labour'd; bome;
If she in pens his flock will fold,
And then produce her dairy store,
And wine to drive away the cold,
And unbought dainties of the poor, &c.*

The antients seem to have excelled themselves in treating this subject, so many fine thoughts and beautiful expressions it supplies. Mr. Rollin gives here a prose translation of the passage * at bottom, in the Georgicks; which, it was conceived, would be no less agreeable in Mr. Dryden's version.

*O happy, if he knew his happy state,
The swain, who, free from business and debate,
Receives his easy food from nature's band,
And just returns of cultivated land.
No palace, &c.*

*But easy, quiet, a secure retreat,
A harmless life, that knows not how to cheat,
With homebred plenty the rich owner blest,
And rural pleasures crown his happiness.*

- * O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
Agricolas! quibus ipsa, procul discordibus armis,
Fundit humo facilem victum justissima tellus.

Si non, &c.

At secura quies, & nescia fallere vita
Dives opum variarum; at latiss otia fundis,
Speluncae, vivique lacus; at frigida Tempe,
Mugitusque boum, mollesque sub arbore somni
Non absunt: illic saltus ac lustra ferarum,
Et patiens operum, parvoque assueta juventus,
Sacra Desum, sanctique patres. Extrema per illos
Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

Virg. Georgic. l. 2.

*Unvex'd with quarrels, undisturb'd with noise,
 The country-king his peaceful realm enjoys :
 Cool grotts, and living lakes, the flow'ry pride
 Of meads, and streams, that thro' the valleys glide ;
 And shady groves, that easy sleep invite,
 And after toilsome days, a soft repose at night.
 Wild beasts of nature in his woods abound,
 And youth, of labour patient, plough the ground,
 Intur'd to hardship, and to homely fare.
 Nor venerable age is wanting there,
 In great examples to the youthful train :
 Nor are the gods ador'd with rites prophane.
 From hence Astræa took her flight, and here
 The prints of her departing steps appear.*

Georg. 1. 2. 1. 439.

The fine description Cicero gives us, in his essay upon old age, of the manner in which corn and grapes gradually arrive at perfect maturity, shows his taste for the country life, and instructs us, at the same time, in what manner we ought to consider those wonderful productions, that merit our admiration no less from their being common and annual. And indeed, if a simple description gives so much pleasure, what effect, in a mind rationally curious, ought the reality itself to have, and the actual view of what passes in vines and fields of corn, till the fruits of both are brought in, and laid up in cellars and barns ? And as much may be said of all the other riches, with which the earth annually cloaths herself.

This is what makes residence in the country so agreeable and delightful, and so much the desire of magistrates and persons employed in serious and important affairs. Tired and fatigued with the continual cares of the city, they

they naturally cry out with Horace : * “ O country, when shall I see you ? When will it be allowed me to forget, in thy charming retreats, my cares and sollicitude, either in amusing my self with the books of the ancients, or enjoying the pleasure of having nothing to do, or reposing my self in sweet slumber ? ” The purest pleasures are, no doubt, to be found there. The country seems, according to the happy expression of the same poet, to † restore us to our selves, in relieving us from a kind of slavery, and in placing us, where we may justly be said to live and reign. We enter, in a manner, into a conversation with the trees and plants ; we question them ; we make them give us an account of the fruits they produce ; and receive such excuses as they have to make, when defective in bearing : ‡ al-
 ledging sometimes the great rains, sometimes

* *Orus, quando ego te aspiciam, quandoque licebit
 Nunc veteram libris, nunc somno, & inertibus horis,
 Ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivis vitæ ?*

*O rural sickness, and O serene abodes,
 Wherein we seem to emulate the gods,
 When, void of care, of passion, and of strife,
 And all the busy ills of tedious life,
 With you my happy hours shall I employ
 In sweet vicissitudes of rest and joy,
 In books, that raise the soul, and learned taste,
 In sleep, in leisure, and in what I please ?* Paraph.

† *Villæ sylvarum, & mihi me reddentis agelli.*

H O R. Ep. 14. l. 1.

Vivo & regno, simul ista reliqui, &c.

H O R. Ep. 10. l. 1.

‡ *Fundusque mendax, arbore nunc aquas*

Culpante, nunc torrentia agros

Sidera, nunc hiemes iniquas. H O R. Od. 1. l. 3.

When the land falls, and in its fruits

Against the show'ry skies imputes,

Or the whole blame with equal reason casts

On summer's sultry fens, or winter's fatal blasts.

● excessive

excessive heats, sometimes the severity of the cold. It is Horace who lends them this language.

All I have said sufficiently implies, that I speak no longer of that painful and laborious tillage, to which man was at first condemned : but that I have another in view, intended for his pleasure, and to employ him with delight ; an employment perfectly conformable to his original institution, and the design of his Creator, as it was commanded Adam immediately after his formation. In effect, it seems to suggest to us the idea of the terrestrial paradise, and to partake, in some measure, of the happy simplicity and innocence which reigned there.

We find that in all times, it has been the most grateful amusement of princes, and the most powerful kings. Without mentioning the famous hanging gardens, with which Babylon was adorned, the scripture informs us, that Ahasuerus (Darius, son of Darius Hyftaspes) had planted part of the trees of his garden, and that

Esther i.
5.

he cultivated it with his own royal hands. *Jussit convivium præparari in vestibulo hortus et nemoris, quod regio cultu. et manu, confitum erat.* [I do not find the latter part of this text in the English bible.]

We have said, that Cyrus the younger answered Lyfander, who admired the beauty, œconomy and disposition of his gardens ; that himself had drawn the plan, laid them out, and planted many of the trees with his own

Cic. de
Senec. tut.
n. 59.

hands. *Ego omnia ista sum dimensus : mei sunt ordines, mea descriptio : multæ etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satæ.*

We should never be willing to quit so delightful a residence, were it possible for us to possess it always ; and have endeavoured, at least for our consolation, to impose a kind of illusion

sion upon ourselves, by transporting the country in a manner into the midst of cities; not a simple and almost wild country, but a trim, laid out, embellished, I had almost said, painted country. I mean those adorned and elegant gardens, which present so grateful and splendid a view to our eyes. What beauty, riches, abundance, variety of sweets, colours and objects. To see * the unvariable constancy and regularity of flowers in succeeding each other, (and as much may be said of fruits) one would think that the earth, attentive to pleasing its master, endeavours to perpetuate her presents, by continually paying him the new tributes of every season. What a throng of reflexions does not this suggest to a curious, and still more to a religious, mind!

Pliny, after having confessed, that no eloquence was capable of expressing duly the incredible abundance, and wonderful variety of the riches and beauties, which nature seems to spread with complacency and delight throughout gardens, adds a very just and instructive remark. † He observes upon the difference nature has made as to the duration of trees and flowers. To the trees and plants designed for the nourishment of man with their fruits, and for the structure of ships and edifices, she has granted years and even ages of time. To flowers and sweets, which serve only for plea-

* Sed illa quanta benignitas naturæ, quod tam multa ad vescendum, tam varia, tamque jucunda gignit: neque ea uno tempore anni, ut semper & novitate delectemur, & copia. *Cic. de nat. deor.* l. 2. n. 131.

† Quippe reliqua usus ali-

mentique gratia genuit: idæque sæcula annosque tribuit iis. Flores vero odoresque in diem gignit: magna, ut palam est, admonitione hominum, quæ spectatissimè floreat, celerrime marcescere. *Plin.* l. 2. c. 1.

sure,

sure, she has given only some moments and days of life ; as if she intended to admonish us, that what is most shining and splendid soonest fades, and passes away with rapidity, Malherbe expresses this latter thought in very lively manner, where he deplores the death of a very young and beautiful person.

Et rose ella a vecu ce qui vivent les roses,
L'espace d'un matin.
*And liv'd a rose, as roses live,
A single morning's space.*

It is the great advantage of agriculture to be more strictly united with religion and also moral virtue, than any other art ; which made Cicero say, as we have seen, that the country life came nearest to that of the wiseman ; that is, it was a kind of practical philosophy.

To conclude this small treatise where I began it, it must be confessed, that of all human employments, which have no immediate relation to God and justice, the most innocent is agriculture. It was, as has been said, that of the first man in his state of innocence and duty. It afterwards became part of the penance imposed on him by God. So that both in the states of innocence and sin, * it was commanded to him, and in his person, to all his descendants. It is, however, become, in the judgment of pride, the meanest and most contemptible of employments ; and whilst useless arts, which conduce only to luxury and voluptuousness, are protected and honoured, all those who labour for the welfare and happiness of others are abandoned to poverty and misery.

* *Hate not laborious work, nor the husbandry, which the most High hath created. Ecclesiast. vii. 12.*

CHAPTER II.

OF COMMERCE.

ARTICLE I.

Excellency and advantages of Commerce.

IT may be said, without fear of being suspected of exaggeration, that commerce is the most solid foundation of civil society, and the most necessary principle to unite all men, of whatever country or condition they are, with each other. By its means the whole world is but one city, and one family. It is the source of universal plenty to every part of it. The riches of one nation become those of all people, and no country is barren, or at least sensible of its sterility. All its necessities are provided for in time from the extremities of the universe; and every region is amazed to find itself abound in foreign productions, and enriched with a thousand commodities, unknown to itself, and which however compose all that is most agreeable in life. It is by the commerce of the sea and rivers, that is to say by navigation, that God has united all mankind amongst themselves in so wonderful a manner, by teaching them * to direct and govern the two most violent things in nature, the sea and the winds, and to substitute them to their uses and occasions. He has joined the most remote peo-

* Quas res violentissimas natura genuit, earum moderationem nos soli habemus, maris atque ventorum, propter nauticarum rerum scientiam. *Cic. de Nat. deor.* l. 2. p. 15.

ple by this means, and preserved amongst the different nations, an image of the dependance he has ordained in the several parts of the same body by the veins and arteries.

This is but a weak, a slight idea, of the advantages arising from commerce to society in general. With the least attention to particulars, what wonders might we not discover ? But this is not the proper place for such enquiries. I shall confine my self to one reflection, which seems very proper for our understanding at once the weakness and grandeur of man.

I shall consider him at first in the highest degree of elevation to which he is capable of attaining. I mean upon the throne : lodged in superb palaces ; surrounded with all the splendor of the royal dignity ; honoured and almost adored by throngs of courtiers, who tremble in his presence ; placed in the centre of riches and pleasures, which vye with each other for his favour ; and supported by numerous armies, who wait only to obey his orders. Behold the height of human greatness ! But what becomes of this so powerful, so awful, prince, if commerce happens to cease on a sudden ; if he is reduced to himself, to his own industry and personal endeavours ? Abandoned to himself in this manner ; divested of that pompous outside, which is not him, and is absolutely foreign to his person ; deprived of the support of others, he falls back into his native misery and indigence ; and to sum up all in a word, he is no longer any thing.

Let us now consider man in a mean condition, inhabiting a little house ; reduced to subsist on a little bread, meat and drink ; covered with the plainest cloaths ; and enjoying in his family, not without difficulty, the other conveniencies

veniences of life. What seeming solitude, what a forlorn state, what oblivion seems he in with regard to all other mortals ! We are much deceived, when we think in this manner. The whole universe is attentive to him. A thousand hands work for his occasions, and to cloath and nourish him. For him manufactures are established, granaries and cellars filled with corn and wine, and different metals extracted from the bowels of the earth with so much danger and difficulty.

There is nothing, even to the things that minister to pleasure and voluptuousness, which the most remote nations are not solicitous to transfer to him through the most stormy seas. Such are the supplies, which commerce, or to speak more properly, divine providence, always employed for our occasions, continually procures for us all, for each of us in particular : supplies, which to judge aright of them, are in a manner miraculous, which ought to fill us with perpetual admiration, and make us cry out with the prophet in the transports of a lively gratitude ; *O Lord, what is man, that thou art* Psal. viii.
mindful of him, or the son of man that thou vi- 4. visitest him!

It would be to no purpose for us to say, that we have no obligation to those who labour for us in this manner, because their particular interest puts them in motion. This is true ; but is their work therefore of less advantage to us ? God, to whom alone it belongs to produce good from evil itself, makes use of the covetousness of some for the benefit of others. It is with this view providence has established so wonderful a diversity of conditions amongst us, and has distributed the goods of life with so prodigious an inequality. If all men were easy

in their fortunes, were rich and opulent; who amongst us would give himself the trouble to till the earth, to dig in the mine, or to cross the seas. Poverty or covetousness charge themselves with these laborious, but useful, toils. From whence it is plain, that all mankind, rich or poor, powerful or impotent; kings or subjects, have a mutual dependance upon each other for the demands of life; the poor not being able to live without the rich, nor the rich without the labour of the poor. And it is commerce, subsisting from these different interests, which supplies mankind with all their necessities, and at the same time with all their conveniencies.

ARTICLE II.

Antiquity of commerce. Countries and cities most famed for it.

IT is very probable, that commerce is no less antient than agriculture. It begun, as was natural, between private persons, mankind assisting each other with whatsoever they had of useful and necessary to human life. Cain, no doubt, supplied Abel with corn, and the fruits of the earth for his food; and Abel, in exchange, supplied Cain with skins and fleeces for his cloathing, and with milk, curds, and perhaps meat for his table. Tubalcain, solely employed in works of copper and iron, for the various uses and occasions of life, and for arms to defend men, either against human enemies or wild beasts, was certainly obliged to exchange his brass and iron works for other merchandise, necessary to feeding, cloathing, and lodging him. Commerce afterwards, extending

tending gradually from neighbour to neighbour, established itself between cities and adjacent countries, and after the deluge, enlarged its bounds to the extremities of the world.

The holy scripture gives us a very antient Gen. example of traffick by the caravans of the Ish-xxvii. 25] maelites and Midianites, to whom Joseph was sold by his brethren. They were upon their return from Gilead with their camels laden with spices, aromattick goods, and with other precious merchandise of that country. These they were carrying into Egypt, where there was a great demand for them, occasioned by their custom of embalming the bodies of men, after their death, with great care and expence.

Homer * informs us, that it was the custom of the heroick age of the siege of Troy, for the different nations to exchange the things, that were most necessary for life, with each other; a proof, says Pliny, that it was rather necessity than avarice, that gave birth to this primitive commerce. We read in the seventh book of the Iliad, that upon the arrival of certain vessels, the troops went in crowds to purchase wine, some with copper, and others with iron, skins, oxen, and slaves.

We find no navigators in history so antient as the Egyptians and Phoenicians. These two neighbouring nations seem to have divided the commerce by sea between them: the Egyptians had possessed themselves chiefly of the trade of the East, by the Red sea; and the

* Quantum feliciore ævo, cum res ipsæ permutabantur inter sese, sicut & Trojanis temporibus factitatum Homero credi convenit! Ita enim, ut opinor, commercia victûs gratiâ inventa. Alios coriis boum, alios ferro captivisque rebus emptitasse tradit. *Plin.* l. 33. c. 1.

Phœnicians of that of the West, by the Mediterranean.

What fabulous authors say of Osiris, who is the Bacchus of the Greeks, that he undertook the conquest of the Indies, as Sesostris did afterwards, makes it probable, that the Egyptians carried on a great trade with the Indians.

As the commerce of the Phœnicians was much more to the west than that of the Egyptians, it is no wonder, that they are more celebrated: upon that account by the Greek and Roman authors. Herodotus says, that
 Herod. I. 1. c. 1. they were the carriers, of the merchandise of Egypt and Assyria, and transacted all their trade for them, as if the Egyptians had not employed themselves in it; and that they have been believed the inventors of traffick and navigation, though the Egyptians have a more legitimate claim to that glory. Certain it is, the Phœnicians distinguished themselves most by antient commerce, and are also a proof, to what an height of glory, power, and wealth, a nation is capable of raising itself only by trade.

This people possessed a narrow tract of land upon the sea-coast, and Tyre itself was built in a very poor soil; and had it been richer and more fertile, it would not have been sufficient for the support of the great number of inhabitants, which the early success of its commerce drew thither.

Two advantages made them amends for this defect. They had excellent ports upon the coasts of their small state, particularly that of their capitol; and they had naturally so happy a genius for trade, that they were looked upon as the inventors of commerce by sea, especially of that carried on by long voyages.

The

The Phœnicians knew so well how to improve both these advantages, that they soon made themselves masters of the sea, and of trade. Libanus, and other neighbouring mountains, supplying them with excellent timber for building of vessels, in a little time they fitted out numerous fleets of merchant-ships, which hazarded voyages into unknown regions, in order to establish a trade with them. They did not confine themselves to the coasts and ports of the Mediterranean; they entered the ocean by the straits of Cadiz or Gibraltar, and extended their correspondence to the right and left. As their people multiplied almost infinitely by the great number of strangers, whom the desire of gain, and the certain opportunity of enriching themselves, drew to their city, they saw themselves in a condition to plant many remote colonies; and particularly the famous one of Carthage, which, retaining the Phœnician spirit with regard to traffick, did not give place to Tyre itself in trading, and surpassed it exceedingly by the extent of dominion; and the glory of military expeditions.

The degree of glory and power, to which commerce and navigation had elevated the city of Tyre, rendered it so famous, that we could scarce believe there is no exaggeration in what profane authors report of it; if the prophets themselves had not spoke of it with still greater magnificence. Tyre, says Ezekiel, to give us some idea of its power, is a superb vessel. *They* Ezekiel, ch. xxvii.
have made all thy ship-boards of fir-trees of Senir; they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make masts; v. 4—10.
for thee. Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars: the company of the Asshurites have made thy benches of ivory; brought out of the isles of Chittim. Fine linnen, with brodered work
 VOL. X. Y 2 *from*

from Egypt, was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail : blue and purple from the isles of Elifha was that which covered thee. The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners : thy wise men, O Tyrus, that were in thee, were thy pilots. The prophet, by this figurative language, designs to shew us the power of this city. But he gives with more energy a circumstantial account of the different people with whom it traded. The merchandises of the whole earth seemed to be laid up in this city, and the rest of the world appeared less its allies than tributaries.

Id. v 20
—24.

The Carthaginians trafficked with Tyre for all sorts of riches, and filled its markets with silver, iron, pewter, and lead. Greece, * Tubal and Mosoch, brought it slaves, and vessels of copper. † Thogorma supplied it with horses and mules. ‖ Dedam with elephants teeth and ebony. The Syrians exposed to sale in it pearls, purple, wrought cloths, lawn, silk, and all sorts of precious merchandise. The people of Judah and Israel brought thither the finest wheat, balm, honey, oil, and fruits. Darnafcus sent it excellent wine, and wool of the most lively and most exquisite dyes : other people furnished it with iron work, myrrh, the aromatick calamus, and carpets of exquisite workmanship to sit upon. ‡ Arabia, and all the princes of Cedar, brought thither their flocks

* Tubal and Mosoch. *The holy scripture always joins these two people. The latter intends Muscovy ; the former, without doubt, was its neighbour.*

† Thogorma. *Cappadocia, from whence came the finest*

horses, of which the emperors reserved the best for their own stables.

‖ Dedam. *The people of Arabia.*

‡ Arabia, *Deserta, Cedar was near it.*

of lambs, sheep, and goats. Saba * and Rema, the most excellent perfumes, precious stones, and gold; and others cedar-wood, bales of purple, embroidered cloathing, and every kind of rich goods.

I shall not undertake to distinguish exactly the situation of the different nations, of whom Ezekiel speaks, this not being the proper place for such a disquisition. It suffices to observe, that this long enumeration, into which the holy spirit has thought fit to descend with regard to the city of Tyre, is an evident proof, that its commerce had no other bounds than the world, as known at that time. Hence it was considered, as the common metropolis of all nations, and as the queen of the sea. Isaiah paints its grandeur and state in most lively, but very natural, colours, where he says, that Tyre wore the diadem upon her brows; that the most illustrious princes of the universe were her correspondents, and could not be without her traffick; that the rich merchants, enclosed within her walls, were in a condition to dispute precedence with crowned heads, and pretended, at least, to an equality with them: *Who hath taken this counsel against Tyre, the crowned city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth.* Isai. xxiii. 8.

I have related elsewhere the destruction of the antient Tyre by Nebuchadonosor, after a siege of thirteen years; and the establishment of the new Tyre, which soon repossessed itself of the empire of the sea, and continued its commerce with more success, and more splendor than before; till at length, being stormed by Alex-

* Saba and Rema. People of Arabia Felix. All antiquity mentions the riches and spices of this people.

under the Great, he deprived it of its maritime strength and trade, which were transferred to Alexandria, as we shall soon see.

Whilst both the old and new Tyre experienced such great revolutions, Carthage, the most considerable of their colonies, was become very flourishing. Traffick had given it birth; traffick augmented it, and put it into a condition to dispute the empire of the world for many years with Rome. Its situation was much more advantageous than that of Tyre. It was equally distant from all the extremities of the Mediterranean sea; and the coast of Africa, upon which it was situated, a vast and fertile region, supplied it abundantly with the corn necessary to its subsistence. With such advantages those Africans, making the best use of the happy genius for trade and navigation, which they had brought from Phœnicia, attained so great a knowledge of the sea, that in that point, according to the testimony of Polybius, no nation was equal to them. By this means they rose to such an height of power, that in the beginning of their third war with the Romans, which occasioned their final ruin, Carthage had seven hundred thousand inhabitants, and three hundred cities in its dependance upon the continent of Africa only. They had been masters not only of the tract of land extending from the great Syrtes to the pillars of Hercules, but also of that which extends itself from the same pillars to the southward, where Hanno, the Carthaginian, had founded so many cities, and settled so many colonies. In Spain, which they had almost entirely conquered, Asdrubal, who commanded there after Barca, Hannibal's father, had founded Carthagera, one of the most celebrated cities of those times.

Great

Great part also of Sicily and Sardinia had formerly submitted to their yoke.

Posterity might have been indebted for great lights to the two illustrious monuments of the navigation of this people, in the history of the voyages of Hanno, stiled king of the Carthaginians, and of Imilco, if time had preserved them. The first related the voyages he had made in the ocean beyond the pillars of Hercules, along the western coast of Africa; and the other his on the western coast of Europe, both by the order of the senate of Carthage. But time has consumed those writings.

This people spared neither pains nor expences to bring navigation to perfection. That was their only study. The other arts and sciences were not cultivated at Carthage. They did not pique themselves upon polite knowledge. They professed neither poetry, eloquence, nor philosophy. The young people, from their infancy, heard of nothing in conversation, but merchandise, accounts, ships, and voyages. Address in commerce was a kind of inheritance in the families, and was the best part of their fortunes; and as they added their own observations to the experience of their fathers, we ought not to be surprized, that their ability in this way always increased, and made such a wonderful progress.

Hence it was that commerce raised Carthage to so high a degree of wealth and power, that it cost the Romans two wars; the one of twenty three, and the other of seventeen, years, both bloody and doubtful, to subdue that rival; and that at last, victorious Rome did not believe it in her power to subject her enemy entirely, but by depriving her of the resources she might still have found in trade, and which, during so long

long a series of years, had supported her against all the forces of the republick.

Carthage had never been more powerful by sea, than when Alexander besieged Tyre, the metropolis of her people. Her fortune began to decline from that time. Ambition was the ruin of the Carthaginians. Their being weary of the pacifick condition of merchants, and preferring the glory of arms to that of traffick, cost them dear. Their city, which commerce had peopled with so great a multitude of inhabitants, saw its numbers diminish to supply troops, and recruit armies. Their fleets, accustomed to transport merchants and merchandise, were no longer freighted with any thing, but munitions of war and soldiers; and out of the wisest and most successful traders, they elected officers and generals of armies, who acquired them an exalted degree of glory indeed, but one of short duration, and soon followed with their utter ruin.

The taking of Tyre by Alexander the Great, and the founding of Alexandria, which soon followed, occasioned a great revolution in the affairs of commerce. That new settlement was, without dispute, the greatest, the most noble, the wisest, and the most useful design that conqueror ever formed.

It was not possible to find a more happy situation, nor one more likely to become the mart for all the merchandise of the east and west. That city had on one side a free commerce with Asia, and the whole East, by the Red sea. The same sea, and the river Nile, gave it a communication with the vast and rich countries of Ethiopia. The commerce of the rest of Africa and Europe was open to it by the Mediterranean; and for the inland trade of Egypt, it had besides

besides the navigation of the Nile, and the canals cut out of it, the assistance of the caravans, so convenient for the security of merchants, and the conveyance of their effects.

This induced Alexander to believe it a proper place for founding one of the finest cities and ports in the world. For the isle of Pharos, which at that time was not joined to the continent, supplied him with the happiest situation, after he had joined them by a mole, having two entrances, in which the vessels of foreign nations arrived from all parts, and from whence the Egyptian ships were continually sailing to carry their factors, and commerce, to all parts of the world then known.

Alexander lived too short a time to see the happy and flourishing condition, to which commerce raised his city. The Ptolomies, to whose share, after his death, Egypt fell, took care to improve the growing trade of Alexandria, and soon raised it to a degree of perfection and extent, that made Tyre and Carthage be forgotten, which for a long series of time, had transacted, and engrossed to themselves, the commerce of all nations.

Of all the kings of Egypt, Ptolomæus Philadelphus was the prince, who contributed most to the bringing of commerce to perfection in his country. For that purpose he kept great fleets at sea, of which Athenæus gives us the ^{Athen. l. 5.} number, and description, that cannot be read ^{P. 203.} without astonishment. Besides upwards of six-score sail of galleys of an extraordinary size, he gives him more than four thousand other ships, which were employed in the service of the state, and the improvement of trade. He possessed a great empire, which he had formed, by extending the bounds of the kingdom

dom of Egypt into Africa, Ethiopia, Syria, and beyond the sea, having made himself master of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades, possessing almost four thousand cities in his dominions. To raise the happiness of these provinces as high as possible, he endeavoured to draw into them, by commerce, the riches and commodities of the East; and to facilitate their passage, he built a city expressly on the western coast of the Red sea, cut a canal from Coptus to that sea, and caused houses to be erected along that canal, for the

Vol. VII. convenience of merchants and travellers, as I
p. 306. have observed in its place.

It was the convenience of this staple for merchandize at Alexandria, which diffused immense riches over all Egypt; riches so considerable, that it is affirmed, the customs
Cic. apud. only for the importation and exportation of
Strab. 1. merchandize at the port of Alexandria, a-
17. p. 798. mounted yearly to more than thirty-seven mil-
lions of livres, though most of the Ptolomies
were moderate enough in the imposts they laid
on their people.

Tyre, Carthage, and Alexandria, were, without dispute, the most famous cities of antiquity for commerce: It was also followed with success at Corinth, Rhodes, Marseilles, and many other cities, but not with such extent and reputation.

ARTICLE III.

The end and materials of commerce.

THE passage of Ezekiel, which I have cited in regard to Tyre, includes almost all the materials, in which the antient commerce consisted: Gold, silver, iron, copper, tin, lead, pearls, diamonds, and all sorts of precious stones; purple, stuffs, cloths, ivory, ebony, cedar, myrrh, aromatick reeds, or the Calamus; perfumes, slaves, horses, mules, grain, wine, cattle, and in a word, all kind of precious merchandise. I shall not dwell here upon any thing, but what relates to mines of iron, copper, gold, silver, pearls, purple, and silk; nor treat even these heads with any great extent. Pliny the naturalist will be my ordinary guide as to those of my subjects he has wrote upon. And I shall make great use of the learned remarks of the author of the natural history of gold and silver, extracted from the thirty-third book of Pliny, and printed at London.

S E C T. I.

Mines of iron.

IT is certain, that the use of metals, especially of iron and copper, is almost as old as the world: but it does not appear, that gold or silver were much regarded in the first ages. Solely intent upon the necessities of life, the first inhabitants of the earth did what new colonies are obliged to do. They applied themselves in building them houses, clearing lands,
and

and furnishing themselves with the instruments necessary for cutting wood, hewing stone, and other mechanical uses. As all these tools could be formed only of iron, copper, or steel, those essential materials became, by a necessary consequence, the principal objects of their pursuit. Those, who were settled in countries which produced them, were not long without knowing their importance. People came from all parts in quest of them ; and their land, though in appearance poor and barren in every other respect, became an abundant and fertile soil to them. They wanted nothing having that merchandise ; and their iron bars were ingots, which procured them all the conveniencies and elegancies of life.

It would be very grateful to know where, when, how, and by whom these materials were first discovered. Concealed as they are from our eyes, and hid in the bowels of the earth in small and almost imperceptible particles, which have no apparent relation, or visible disposition for the different works composed of them, who was it that instructed man in the uses to be made of them ? It would be doing chance too much honour, to impute to it this discovery. The infinite importance, and almost indispensable necessity for the instruments, with which they supply us, well deserve, that we should acknowledge it to proceed from the concurrence and goodness of the divine providence. It is true, that providence commonly takes delight in concealing its most wonderful gifts under events, which have all the appearance of chance and accident. But attentive and religious eyes are not deceived in them, and easily discover, under these disguises, the beneficence and liberality of God, so much the more worthy of admiration

miration and acknowledgment, as less visible to man. This is a truth confessed by the Pagans themselves, as I have already observed elsewhere.

It is remarkable, that * iron, which of all metals is the most necessary, is also the most common, the easiest to be found, less deep in the earth than any other, and most abundant.

As I find little in Pliny upon the manner in which the antients discovered and prepared metals, I am obliged to have recourse to what the moderns say upon that head; in order to give the reader, at least, some slight idea of the usual methods in the discovery, preparation, and melting of those metals; which were in part practised by the antients.

The matter, from which iron is extracted, Plin. l. 34.
(which the term of art calls *iron-ore*) is found c. 14, 15.
in mines of different depth, sometimes in stones as big as the fist, and sometimes only in sand.

After having amassed the quantity of matter to be melted, it is put into large furnaces, where a great fire has been kindled. When the ore is melted and well skimmed, they make it run out of the furnace through a hole prepared for that purpose, from which, running with rapidity like a torrent of fire, it falls into different moulds, according to the variety of works to be cast, as kettles, and such kind of utensils. In the same manner they form also the large lumps of iron, called *sows*, of different sizes, which weigh sometimes two or three thousand pounds, and upwards. These are afterwards carried to the forge, or foundry, to be forged or

* Ferri metalla ubique ferri largissima est. *Plin. l.*
propem odum reperiuntur— 34 c. 14.
Metallorum omnium vena

finished with the assistance of mills, which keep great hammers continually going.

Steel is a kind of iron refined and purified by fire; which renders it whiter, more solid, and of a smaller and finer grain. It is the hardest of all metals when prepared and tempered as it ought. That *temper* is derived from cold water, and requires a nice attention in the workman, in taking the steel out of the fire; when it has attained a certain degree of heat.

Stridentia
tingunt
ara lacu.

When we consider a sharp and well-polished knife or razor, could we believe it was possible to form them out of a little earth; or some blackish stones? What difference is there between so rude a matter, and such polished and shining instruments! Of what is not human industry capable!

Mr. Reaumur * observes, in speaking of iron, one thing well-worthy of observation. Tho' fire seldom or ever renders it so liquid as it does gold, brass, pewter, and lead; of all metals, however, there is not one that takes the mould so perfectly, insinuates itself so well into the most minute parts of it, and receives impressions with such exactitude.

S E C T. II.

Mines of copper or brass.

COPPER, which is otherwise called brass, is an hard, dry, weighty metal. It is taken out of mines like other metals, where it is found as well as iron, either in powder or stone.

* *Memoires de l'Acad. des Scient. an. 1726.*

Before it is melted, it must be washed very much, in order to separate the earth from it, with which it is mixed. It is afterwards melted in the furnaces by great fires, and when melted, poured off into moulds. The copper, which has had only one melting, is the common and ordinary copper.

To * render it purer and finer, it is melted once or twice more. When it has passed the fire several times, and the grossest parts are separated from it, it is called *Rofette*, or the purest and finest copper.

Copper is naturally red; of which brass is a species made yellow with *Lapis calaminaris*.

The *Lapis calaminaris*, which is also called *Cadmia* †, is a mineral or fossile, which founders use to change the colour of copper yellow. This stone does not become yellow, till after it has been baked in the manner of bricks; it is then used either to make yellow, or encrease, the red fine copper.

The yellow copper or brass is therefore a mixture of the red, with *lapis calaminaris*, which augments its weight from ten to fifty in the hundred, according to the different goodness of the copper. It is called also *Latten*, and in the Roman language *Aurichalcum*.

Bronze is a made metal, consisting of a mixture of several metals.

For the fine statues of this metal, the mixture is half fine copper and half brass. In the ordinary sort, the mixture is of pewter, and sometimes of lead, to save cost.

* Præterea semel requiritur: quod sæpius fecisse, bonitati plurimum confert. *Plin.* l. 34. c. 8.

† Vena [æris] quo dictum

est modo effoditur ignique perficitur. Fit & a lapide æroso, quem vocant *Cadmiam*. *Plin.* l. 34. c. 1.

There is also another species of mixed copper, called by the French *Fonte*, which differs from the *Bronze*, only by being more or less mixed.

The art of founding, or, as it is vulgarly called, of casting in brass, is very antient. All ages have made their vessels, and other curious works in metal. Casting must have been very common in Egypt, when the Israelites left it, as they could form in the desert, without any great preparations, a statue with lineaments and shape, representing a calf. Soon after they made the molten sea, and all other vessels for the tabernacle, and afterwards for the temple. It was not uncommon to form statues of plates hammered into form, and rivetted together.

The invention of these images, either cast or hammered, took birth in the East, as well as idolatry, and afterwards communicated itself to Greece, which carried the art to the highest degree of perfection.

The most celebrated and valuable copper amongst the Greeks, was that of Corinth, of which I have spoken elsewhere, and that of Delos. Cicero * joins them together in one of his orations, where he mentions a vessel of brass, called *authepsa*, in which meat was dressed with very little fire, and almost of itself: this vessel was sold so dear, that those who passed by, and heard the sum bid for it at the sale, imagined the purchase of an estate was in question.

It is said, that brass was used before iron for the making of arms. It certainly was so before gold and silver for money, at least with the Ro-

* Domus referta vasis Corinthiis & Deliacis: in quibus est authepsa illa, quam tanto pretio nuper mercatus

est, ut qui prætereuntes pretium enumerari audiebant, fundum vænire arbitrentur. *Orat. pro Rosc. Amerc.* n. 133. mans.

mans. It consisted at first in lumps of brass, of different bigness, and was taken by weight, without having any fixed mark or figure upon it; from whence came the form of speaking used in sales, *per æs & libram*. Servius Tullius, the sixth king of the Romans, was the first, that reduced it to form, and stamped it with a particular impression. * And as at that time the greatest riches consisted in cattle, oxen, sheep, hogs, &c. the figure of those animals, or of their heads, was stamped upon the first money that was coined, and it was called *pecunia*, from the word *pecus*, which signifies cattle in general. It was not till the consulship of ^{Plin. l. 34. c. 1.}

Q. Fabius and Ogulnius, five years before the first Punick war, in the 485th year of Rome, that silver species was used at Rome. They, however, always retained the antient language and denomination, taken from the word *æs*, brass. From thence the expression, *æs grave*, (heavy brass) to signify, at least in the origin of that term, the *asses* of a pound weight; *ærarium*, the publick treasury, wherein, in antient times, there was only brass-money; *æs alienum*, borrowed money; with many others of like signification.

* Servius Rex, primus Signatum est nota pecudum; signavit æs. Antea rudi unde pecunia appellata. *Plin.* l. 33. c. 3.
 sos Romæ Timæus tradit.

S E C T. III.

Mines of gold.

Plin. l. 33.
c. 4.

TO find gold, says Pliny, we have three different methods. It is extracted either from rivers, the bowels of the earth, or the ruins of mountains, by undermining and throwing them down.

1. *Gold found in rivers.*

Gold is gathered in small grains, or little quantities upon the shores of rivers, as in Spain upon the brink of the Tagus, in Italy upon the Po, in Thrace upon the Hebrus, in Asia upon the Pactolus, and lastly, upon the Ganges in India; and * it is agreed, that the gold found in this manner is the best of all; because having long ran through rocks, and over sands, it has had time to cleanse and purify itself.

The rivers I mention were not the only ones in which gold was to be found. Our Gaul Diod. l. 5. had the same advantage. Diodorus says, that nature had given it gold in a peculiar manner, without obliging the natives to hunt after it with art and labour; that it was mingled with the sands of the rivers; that the Gauls knew how to wash those sands, extract the gold, and melt it down; and that they made themselves rings, bracelets, girdles, and other ornaments of it. Some rivers of France are † said to have retained this privilege: the Rhine, the

* Nec ullum absolutum aurum est, ut curso ipsa tri-
tuque perpolitum. *Plin.*

† *Memoirs of the Acad. of Sciences*, an. 1718.

Rhone, the Garonne, the Doux in Franche-Comté, the Céze, and the Gardon, which have their sources in the Cevennes, the Ariège in the country of Foix, and some others. The gathering of it indeed does not turn to any considerable account, scarce sufficing to the maintenance of the country-people, who employ themselves for some months in that work. They have sometimes their lucky days, when they get more than a pistole for their trouble; but they pay for them on others, which produce little or nothing.

2. *Gold found in the bowels of the earth.*

Those who search after gold, begin, by finding what we call in French, *la Manne*, manna, a kind of earth, which by its colour, and the exhalations that rise from it, informs those, who understand mines, that there is gold underneath it.

As soon as the vein of gold appears, the water must be turned off, and the ore dug out industriously, which must be taken away, and washed in proper lavers. The ore being put into them, a stream of water is poured on continually, in proportion to the quantity of the ore to be washed; and to assist the force of the water, an iron fork is used, with which the ore is stirred, and broke, till nothing remains in the laver, but a sediment of black sand, with which the gold is mingled. This sediment is put into a large wooden dish, in the midst of which four or five deep lines are cut, and by washing it, and stirring it well in several waters, *conjectura*, the terrene parts dissolve; and nothing remains but pure gold dust. This is the method now used in Chili, and the same as was practised in the time of Pliny: *Aurum qui quærunt, ante omnia* See Dict. of Commerce. Plin. l. 33.

Segullum tollunt : ita vocatur indicium. Alveus hic est : arenæ lavantur, atque ex eo quod resedit, conjectura capitur. Every thing is comprehended in these few words. *Segullum* : which is what the French call *la manne*, or manna. *Alveus hic est* : that is, the vein of gold ore. *Arenæ lavantur* : this implies the lavers. *Atque ex eo quod resedit* : this the sediment of black sand, in which the gold is contained. *Conjectura capitur* : here the stirring of the sediment, the running off of the water, and the gold-dust that remains, are intimated.

Pliny.
ibid.

It sometimes happens, that without digging far, the gold is found upon the superficies of the earth: but this good-fortune is not frequent, though there have been examples of it. For not long ago, says Pliny, gold was found in this manner in Nero's reign, and in so great a quantity, that fifty pounds a day, at least, has been gathered of it. This was in Dalmatia.

It is commonly necessary to dig a great way, and to form subterraneous caverns, in which marble and small flints are found, covered with the gold. These caverns are carried on to the right or left, according to the running of the vein ; and the earth above it is supported with strong props at proper distances. When the metallick stone, commonly called the ore in which the gold forms itself, is brought out of the mine, it is broke, pounded, washed, and put into the furnace. The first melting is called only silver, for there is always some mingled with the gold.

The scum, which rises in the furnace, is called *Scoria* in Latin. This is the dross of the metal, which the fire throws up, and is not peculiar to gold, but common to all metallick bodies. This dross is not thrown away, but
pounded

pounded and calcined over again, to extract what remains of good in it. The crucible, *It is called Tasconium.* in which this preparation is made, ought to be of a certain white earth, not unlike that used by the potters. There is scarce any other, which can bear the fire, bellows and excessive heat of this substance melted.

This metal is very precious, but costs infinite *Diod. l. 3.* pains in getting it. Slaves and criminals condemned to death, were employed in working the mines. The thirst of gold has always extinguished all sense of humanity in the human heart. Diodorus Siculus observes, that these unhappy creatures, laden with chains, were allowed no rest either by night or day; that they were treated with excessive cruelty; and that to deprive them of all hopes of being able to escape by corrupting their guards, soldiers were chosen for that office, who spoke a language unknown to them, and with whom, in consequence, they could have no correspondence nor form any conspiracy.

3. Gold found in the mountains.

There is another method to find gold, which *Plin. l. 33.* regards properly only high and mountainous *c. 4.* places, such as are frequently met with in Spain. * These are dry and barren mountains in every other respect, which are obliged to give up their gold, to make amends, in some measure, for their sterility in every thing else.

The work begins at first by cutting great holes in the right and left. The mountain it-

* Cætera montes Hispaniarum aridi sterilesque, in quibus nihil aliud gignatur, huic bono fertiles esse cōguntur. *Plin.*

self is afterwards attacked by the assistance of torches and lamps. For the day is soon lost, and the night continues as long as the work; that is, for several months. Before any great progress is made, great flaws appear in the earth, which falls in, and often crushes the poor miners to death; so that, says * Pliny, people are much more bold and venturous in searching after pearls at the bottom of the waves in the East, than in digging for gold in the bowels of the earth, which is become by our avarice more dangerous than the sea itself.

It is therefore necessary in these mines, as well as in the first I spoke of, to form good arches at proper distances, to support the hollowed mountain. There are great rocks and veins of stone found also in these, which must be broke by fire and vinegar. But as the smoke and steam would soon suffocate the workmen, it is often more necessary, and especially when the work is a little advanced, to break those enormous masses with pick-axes and crows, and to cut away large pieces by degrees, which must be given from hand to hand, or from shoulder to shoulder, till thrown out of the mine. Day and night are passed in this manner. Only the hindmost workmen see daylight; all the rest work by lamps. If the rock is found to be too long, or too thick, they proceed on the side, and carry on the work in a curve line.

When the work is finished, and the subterraneous passages carried their proper length, they cut away the props of the arches, that

* Ut jam minus temerarium videatur e profundo maris petere margaritas: tan-

to nocentiores fecimus terras.
Plin.

had

had been formed at due distances from each other. This is the usual signal of the ruin which is to follow, and which those who are placed to watch it, perceive first, by the sinking in of the mountain, which begins to shake : upon which they immediately, either by hal-
lowing, or beating upon a brazen instrument, give notice to the workmen to take care of themselves, and run away the first for their own safety. The mountain, fapped on all sides in this manner, falls upon itself, and breaks to pieces with a dreadful noise. The * victori-
ous workmen then enjoy the sight of nature o-
verturned. The gold, however, is not yet found ; and when they began to pierce the hill, they did not know whether there was any in it. Hope and avarice were sufficient motives for undertaking the labour, and confronting such dangers.

But this is only the prelude to new toils, still greater and more heavy than the first. For the waters of the higher neighbouring moun-
tains must be carried through very † long trenches, in order to its being poured with im-
petuosity upon the ruins they have formed, and to carry off the precious metal. For this pur-
pose new canals must be made, sometimes high-
er or lower according to the ground, and hence the greatest part of the labour arises. For the level must be well placed, and the heights well taken in all the places, over which the torrent is to pass to the lower mountain, that has been thrown down ; in order that the water may have sufficient force to tear away the gold

* Spectant victores rui-
nam naturæ : nec tamen ad-
huc aurum est. *Plin.*

† A centesimo plerumque
lapide.

wherever it passes, which obliges them to make it fall from the greatest height they can. And as to the inequality of the ground in its course, they remedy that by artificial canals, which preserve the descent, and keep the water within their bounds. And if there are any large rocks, which oppose its passage, they must be hewn down, made level, and have tracks cut in them for the wood-work, which is to receive and continue the canal. Having united the waters of the highest neighbouring mountains, from whence they are to fall, they make great reservoirs, of the breadth of two hundred, and the depth of ten, feet. They generally leave five openings of three or four feet square, to receive the water at several places.

After which, when the reservoirs are full, they open the sluice, from whence falls so violent and impetuous a torrent, that it carries away all before it, and even stones of considerable magnitude.

There is another work in the plain at the foot of the mine. New trenches must be dug there, which form several beds for the falling of the torrent from height to height, till it discharges itself into the sea. But to prevent the gold from being carried off with the current, they lay, at proper distances, good dams of *Ulex*, a sort of shrub much resembling our rosemary, but something thicker of leaves, and consequently fitter for catching this prey as in nets. Add to this, that good planks are necessary on each side of these trenches, to keep the water within them ; and where there are any dangerous inequalities of ground, these new canals must be supported with * shores, till the torrent

* *Machines to support those canals made of board.*

loses itself at last in the sand of the ocean, in the neighbourhood of which the mines commonly are.

The gold got in this manner at the feet of mountains, has no need of being purified by fire ; for it is at first what it ought to be. It is found in lumps of different bigness, as it is also in deep mines, but not so commonly.

As to the wild rosemary branches used on this occasion, they are taken up with care, dried, and then burnt ; after this the ashes are washed on the turf, upon which the gold falls, and is easily gathered.

Pliny examines wherefore gold is preferred Plin. l. 33. to other metals, and gives several reasons^c. 3. for it.

It is the only metal, which loses nothing, or almost nothing by the fire, not even of funeral piles, or conflagrations, in which the flames are generally most violent. It is even affirmed to be rather the better for having past the fire several times. It is by fire also that proof is made of it ; for when it is good, it takes its colour from it. This the workmen call *obryzum*, refined gold. What is wonderful in this proof, is, that the hottest charcoal has no effect in it : to melt it, * a clear fire of straw is necessary, with a little lead thrown in to refine it.

Gold loses very little by use, and much less than any other metal : whereas silver, copper, and pewter, soil the hands, and draw black

* *Strabo makes the same remark, and gives the reason for this effect.* Paleâ faciliùs liquefit aurum : quia flamma mollis cum sit, proportionem habet temperatam ad id quod

cedit & facile funditur ; carbo autem multum absumit, nimis colliquans sua vehementia & elevans. *Strab.* l. 3. p. 146.

lines upon any thing, which is a proof that they waste, and lose their substance more easily.

It is the only metal that contracts no rust, nor any thing which changes its beauty, or diminishes its weight. It is a thing well worthy of admiration, that of all substances gold preserves itself best, and entire, without rust or dirt, in water, the earth, dung, and sepulchres, and that throughout all ages. There are medals in being which have been struck above two thousand years, which seem just come from the workman's hands.

It is observed, that * gold resists the impressions and corrosion of salt and vinegar, which melt and subdue all other matter.

There is † no metal which extends better, nor divides into so great a number of particles of different kinds. An ounce of gold, for instance, will form seven hundred and fifty leaves, each leaf of four inches square and upwards. What Pliny says here, is certainly very wonderful; but we shall presently see, that our modern artificers have carried their skill much farther than the antients in this, as well as many other points.

In fine, gold will admit to be spun and wove like wool into any form. It may be worked even without wool, (or silk) or with both. The first of the Tarquins triumphed in a vest of cloth made of gold; and Agrippina, the mother of Nero, when the emperor Claudius her husband gave the people the representation of a sea-fight, appeared at it in a long

* Jam contra salis & aceti succos, domitores rerum, constantia. *Plin.*

† Nec alius laxius dilatatur, aut numerosius dividi-

tur, utpote cujus unciaz in septingenas & quinquagenas, pluresque bracteas, quaternum utroque digitorum, spargantur. *Plin.*

robe made entirely of gold wire, without any mixture whatsoever.

What is related of the extreme smallness of gold and silver, when reduced into wire, would seem incredible, if not confirmed by daily experience. I shall only copy here what I find in the memoirs of the academy of An. 1718: sciences upon this head.

We know, say those memoirs, that gold-wire is only silver-wire gilt. By the means of the engine for drawing wire, a cylinder of silver, covered with leaf-gold, being extended, becomes wire, and continues gilt to the utmost length it can be drawn. It is generally of the weight of forty-five *marks*; its diameter is an inch and a quarter French, and its length almost two and twenty inches. Mr. Reaumur proves, that this cylinder of silver, of two and twenty inches, is extended by the engine to thirteen million, nine hundred and sixty three thousand, two hundred and forty inches, or, one million, one hundred and sixty three thousand, five hundred and twenty feet; that is to say, six hundred and thirty four thousand, six hundred and ninety two times longer than it was, which is very near ninety seven leagues in length, allowing two thousand perches to each league. This wire is spun over silk-thread, and before spun is made flat from round as it was, when first drawn, and in flattening generally lengthens one seventh at least; so that its first length of twenty two inches, is changed into that of an hundred and eleven leagues. But this wire may be lengthened a fourth in flattening, instead of a seventh, and in consequence be sixscore leagues in extent. This should seem a prodigious extension, and yet is nothing.

The

The cylinder of silver of forty five marks, and twenty two inches length, requires only to be covered with one ounce of leaf-gold. It is true, the gilding will be light, but it will always be gilding; and though the cylinder in passing the engine attains the length of an hundred and twenty leagues, the gold will still continue to cover the silver without variation. We may see how exceedingly small the ounce of gold, which covers the cylinder of silver of forty-five marks, must become, in continuing to cover it throughout so vast an extent. Mr. Reaumur adds to this consideration, that it is easy to distinguish, that the silver is more gilt in some than in other places; and he finds, by a calculation of wire the most equally gilt, that the thickness of the gold is $\frac{1}{100000}$ th. of a line, or twelfth part, of an inch; so enormous a smallness, that it is as inconceivable to us, as the infinite points of the geometricians. It is, however, real, and produced by mechanical instruments, which, though ever so fine to our senses, must still be very gross in fact. Our understanding is lost and confounded in the consideration of such objects: and how much more in the *infinitely Small of God!*

ELECTRUM.

Lib. 33.
c. 3.

It is necessary to observe, says Pliny, whom I copy in all that follows, that in all kinds of gold there always is some silver, more or less: sometimes a tenth, sometimes a ninth or an eighth. There is but one mine in Gaul from whence gold is extracted, that contains only a thirtieth part of silver, which makes it far more valuable than all others. This gold is called *Albicratense*, of *Albicrate*, (an antient place

place in Gaul near Tarbæ.) There were several mines in Gaul, which have been since either neglected or exhausted. Strabo mentions some of them, amongst which are those of Tarbæ, that were, as he says, *very fruitful in gold*. For without digging far, they found it in quantities large enough to fill the palm of the hand, which had no great occasion for being refined. They had also abundance of gold-dust, and gold in grains of equal goodness with the other. Strab. l. 4. p. 190.

To the gold, continues Pliny, which was found to have a fifth part of silver in it, they gave the name of ELECTRUM. (It might be called white gold, because it came near that colour, and is paler than the other.) The most antient people seemed to have set a great value upon it. Homer, in his description of Menelaus's palace, says, it shone universally with gold, electrum, silver, and ivory. The electrum has this property peculiar to it, that it brightens much more by the light of lamps than either gold or silver. Odyss. l. 4. v. 71.

S E C T. IV.

Silver-mines.

SILVER-MINES, in many respects, resemble those of gold. The earth is bored, and long caverns cut on the right or left, according to the course of the vein. The colour of the metal does not enliven the hopes of the workmen, nor the ore glitter and sparkle as in the others. The earth which contains the silver is sometimes reddish, and sometimes of an ash colour; which the workmen distinguish by use. As for the silver, it can be only refined by Plin. l. 33. c. 6.

by fire, with lead, or with * pewter-ore. This ore is called *galena*, and is found commonly in the veins of silver-mines. The fire only separates these substances; the one of which it reduces into lead or pewter, and the other into silver; but the last always swims at top, because it is lightest, almost like oil upon water.

There were silver-mines in almost all the provinces of the Roman empire. That metal was found in Italy near Vercellæ; in Sardinia, where there was abundance of it; in several places of the Gauls; even in Britain; in Alsace, witness Strasburgh, which took its name *Argentoratum*, as Colmar did *Argentaria*, from it; in Dalmatia and Pannonia, now called Hungary; and lastly, in Spain and Portugal, which produced the finest gold.

What is most surprizing in the mines of Spain, is, that the works, began in them by Hannibal's † orders, subsist in our days, says Plin. *ibid.* Pliny; that is to say, above three hundred years, and that they still retain the names of the first discoverers of them, who were all Carthaginians. One of these mines, amongst the rest, exists now, and is called *Bebulo*. It is the same from which Hannibal daily extracted three hundred pounds of silver, and has been ran fifteen hundred paces in extent, and even through the mountains, by the ‖ Accitanian people; who, without resting themselves either by night or day, and supporting themselves only by the aid of their lamps, have drawn off all the water

* This ore is the rude and mixed substance which contains the metal. It is commonly called the Marcassite stone, especially with relation to gold and silver.

† When he went thither to besiege Saguntum.

‖ The people of Murcia and Valentia, which were part of the district of new Carthage.

from them. There are also veins of silver, discovered in that country, almost upon the surface of the earth.

For the rest, the antients easily knew when they were come to the end of the vein, which was when they found allum; after that they searched no farther: though lately, (it is still Pliny who speaks) beyond the allum, they have found a white vein of copper, which served the workmen as a new token, that they were at the end of the vein of silver.

The discovery of the metals we have hitherto spoken of, is a wonder we can never sufficiently admire. There was nothing more hidden in nature than gold and silver. They were buried deep in the earth, mingled with the hardest stones, and in appearance perfectly useless; the parts of these precious metals were so confounded with foreign bodies, so imperceptible from that mixture, and so difficult to separate, that it did not seem possible to cleanse, collect, refine, and apply them to their uses. Man, however, has surmounted this difficulty, and by experiments has brought his first discoveries to such perfection, that one would imagine gold and silver were formed from the first in solid pieces, and were as easily distinguished as the flints, which lie on the surface of the earth. But was man of himself capable of making such discoveries? Cicero * says, in express terms, that God in vain had formed gold, silver, copper, and iron, in the bowels of the earth, if he had not vouchsafed to teach man the means, by which he might come at the veins, that conceal those precious metals.

* Aurum & argentum, æs
ferrum frustra natura divina
genuisset, nisi eadem docu-
isset quemadmodum ad co-
rum venas perveniretur. *De*
Divinat. l. 1. n. 116.

S E C T. V.

Product of gold and silver-mines, one of the principal sources of the riches of the antients.

IT is easy to conceive that mines of gold and silver must have produced great profits to the private persons and princes who possessed them, if they took the least trouble to work them.

Diod. l. 16. Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, had gold-mines near Pydna, a city of Macedonia, from which he drew yearly a thousand talents, that is to say, three millions. He had also other mines of gold and silver in Thessaly and Thrace; and it appears, that these mines subsisted as long as the kingdom of Macedonia; for * the Romans, when they had conquered Perseus, prohibited the use and exercise of them to the Macedonians.

Xenoph. de ration. reddit. The Athenians had silver mines not only at Laurium in Attica, but particularly in Thrace, from which they were great gainers. Xenophon mentions many citizens enriched by them. Hipponius had six hundred slaves: Nicias, who was killed in Sicily, had a thousand. The farmers of their mines paid daily to the first fifty livres, clear of all charges, allowing an obolus † a day for each slave; and as much in proportion to the second; which amounted to a considerable revenue.

* Metalli quoque Macedonici, quod ingens vectigal erat, locationes tolli placebat. Liv. l. 45. n. 18.

† Six oboli made one drach-

ma, which was worth ten pence French; * a hundred drachmas a mina, and sixty minæ, a talent.

Xenophon,

Xenophon, in the treatise, wherein he proposes several methods for augmenting the revenues of Athens, gives the Athenians excellent advice upon this head; and exhorts them, above all, to make commerce honourable; to encourage and protect those, who applied themselves to it, whether citizens or strangers; to advance money for their use, taking security for the payment; to supply them with ships for the transportation of merchandise; and to be assured, that with regard to trade, the opulence and strength of the state consisted in the wealth of individuals, and of the people. He insists very much in relation to mines, and is earnest, that the republick should cultivate them in its own name, and for its own advantage, without being afraid of injuring particulars in that conduct; because they sufficed for the enriching both the one and the other, and that mines were not wanting to workmen, but workmen to the mines.

But the produce of the mines of Attica and Thrace was nothing, in comparison with what the Spanish mines produced. The Tyrians had the first profits of them; the inhabitants of the country not knowing their value. The Carthaginians succeeded them; and as soon as they had set foot in Spain, perceived the mines would be an inexhaustible source of riches for them. Pliny informs us, that one of them Plin. l. 33. c. 6. alone supplied Hannibal daily with three hundred pounds of silver, which amounts to twelve thousand six hundred livres; as the same Pliny observes elsewhere.

Polybius, cited by Strabo, says, that in his times there were forty thousand men employed in the mines in the neighbourhood of Carthage, and that they paid daily twenty-five thousand Ibid. c. 9.

and drachmas to the Roman people, that is, twelve thousand five hundred livres.

History mentions private persons, who had immense and incredible revenues. Varro speaks of one Ptolomy, a private person, who, in the time of Pompey, commanded in Syria, and maintained eight thousand horse at his own expences; and had generally a thousand guests at his table, who had each a gold cup, which was changed at every course. This is nothing to Pythius of Bithynia, who made king Darius a present of the *Plantane* and *Vine*, so much extolled in history, both of massy gold, and feasted the whole army of Xerxes one day in a splendid manner, though it consisted of seventeen hundred thousand men; offering that prince five months pay for that prodigious host, and the necessary provisions for the whole time. From what source could such enormous treasures arise, if not principally from the mines of gold and silver possessed by these particulars?

We are surprized to read in Plutarch, the account of the sums carried to Rome, for the triumphs of Paulus Emilius, Lucullus, and many other victorious generals.

But all this is inconsiderable, to the endless millions amassed by David and Solomon, and employed in the building and ornaments of the temple of Jerusalem. Those immense riches, of which the recital astonishes us, was partly the fruits of the commerce established by David in Arabia, Persia, and Indostan, by the means

Elath and of two ports he had caused to be built in Idumæa, at the extremity of the Red sea; which trade Solomon must have considerably augmented, as in one voyage only, his fleet brought home four hundred and fifty talents of gold, which amount to above one hundred and thirty five

2 Chron.
viii. 18.

five

five millions of livres. Judæa was but a small ^{2 Chron.} country, and nevertheless the annual revenue of ^{ix. 13.} it, in the time of Solomon, without reckoning many other sums, amounted to six hundred and sixty-six talents of gold, which make near two hundred millions of livres. Many mines must have been dug in those days, for supplying so incredible a quantity of gold, and those of Mexico and Peru were not then discovered.

S E C T. VI.

Of coins and medals.

TH O commerce begun by the exchange of commodities, as appears in Homer; experience soon made the inconvenience of that traffick evident, from the nature of the several merchandises, that could neither be divided, nor cut without considerable prejudice to their value; which obliged the dealers in them, by little and little, to have recourse to metals, which diminished neither in goodness nor fabric by division. Hence, from the time of Abraham, and without doubt before him, gold and silver were introduced in commerce, and perhaps copper also for the lesser wares. As frauds were committed in regard to the weight and quality of the metal, the civil government and publick authority interposed, for establishing the security of commerce, and stamped metals with impressions to distinguish and authorize them. From thence came the various dyes for money, the names of the coiners, the effigies of princes, the years of consulships, and the like marks.

The Greeks put enigmatical hieroglyphicks upon their coins, which were peculiar to each province. The people of Delphos represented a dolphin upon theirs, this was a kind of speaking blazonry : the Athenians the bird of their Minerva, the owl, the symbol of vigilance, even during the night : the Boeotians a Bacchus, with a bunch of grapes and a large cup, to imply the plenty and deliciousness of their country : the Macedonians a shield, in allusion to the force and valor of their soldiery : the Rhodians, the head of Apollo, or the sun, to whom they had dedicated their famous Colossus. In fine, every magistrate took pleasure to express in his money the glory of his province, or the advantages of his city.

The making bad money has been practised in all ages and nations. In the first payment made by the * Carthaginians of the sum, to which the Romans had condemned them at the end of the second punick war, the money brought by their ambassadors was not of good alloy, and it was discovered, upon melting it, that the fourth part was bad. They were obliged to make good the deficiency by borrowing money at Rome. Antony the Triumvir, at the time of his greatest necessity, caused iron to be mixed with the money coined by his order.

This bad coin was either made by a mixture of copper, or wanted more or less of its just weight. A pound of gold and silver ought to be, as Pliny observes, fourscore and sixteen, or

Plin. l. 33.
c. 9.

* Carthaginenses eo anno argentum in stipendium impositum primum Romam ad-
vexerunt. Id quia probum
non esse quæstores renuncia-

verant, ex percentibusque
pars quarta decocta erat pecu-
niâ Romæ mutua sumptâ in-
tertrimentam suppleverunt.
Liv. l. 32. n. 2.

an hundred drachmas in weight. Marius Gracidianus, brother of the famous Marius, when he was prætor, suppressed several disorders at Rome, relating to the coin, by wise regulations. The people, always sensible of amendments of that kind, to express their gratitude, erected statues to him in all the quarters of that city. It was * this Marius, whom Sylla, to Flor. l. 3. avenge the cruelties committed by his brother, C. 21. ordered to have his hands cut off, his legs Senec. de ira. l. 3. broke, and his eyes put out, by the ministrac. 18. tion of Catiline.

The inconveniencies of exchanges were happily remedied by the coining of gold and silver species, that became the common price for all merchandise, of which the painful, and often useless, carriage, was thereby saved. But the antient commerce was still in want of another advantage, which has been since wisely contrived. I mean the method of remitting money from place to place, by bill directing the payment of it.

It is not easy to distinguish with certainty the difference between coins and medals, opinions differing very much upon that head. What seems most probable is, that a piece of metal ought to be called coin, when it has, on one side, the head of the reigning prince, or some divinity, and is always the same on the reverse. Because money being intended to be always current, the people ought to know it with ease, that they may not be ignorant of its value. Thus the head of Janus, with the beak of a Plin. l. 33. c. 3.

* M. Mario, cui vicatim populus statuas posuerat, cui thure & vino Romanus Populus supplicabat, L. Sylla perfringi crura, oculos erui, am-

putari manus iussit ; & quasi totiens occideret, quotiens vulnerabat, paulatim & per singulos artus laceravit. Senec.

galley on the reverse, was the first money of Rome. Servius Tullius, instead of the head of a ship, stamped that of a sheep, or an ox on it, from whence came the word *pecunia*, because those animals were of the kind called *pecus*. To the head of Janus, a woman armed was afterwards substituted, with the inscription ROMA; and on the other side, a chariot drawn by two or four horses, of which were the pieces of money called *Bigati*, and *Quadrigati*. Victories were also put on them, *Victoriati*. All these different species are allowed to be coins, as are those, which have certain marks on them; as an X, that is to say *Denarius*; an L, *Libra*; an S, *Semis*. These different marks explain the weight and value of the piece.

Medals are pieces of metal, which generally express on the reverse some considerable event.

The parts of a medal are its two sides, of which the one is called the face or head, and the other the reverse. On each side of it there is a field, which is the middle of the medal; the circumference or border; and the exergue, which is the part at the bottom of the piece, upon which the figures represented by the medal are placed. Upon these two faces the type, and the inscription, or legend, are distinguished. The figures represented are the type; the inscription or legend is the writing we see on it, and principally that upon the border or circumference of the medal.

To have some idea of the science of medals, it is necessary to know their origin and use; their division into antient and modern, into Greek and Roman; what is meant by the medals of the early or later empire; of the great or small bronze; what a series is in the language of antiquarians. But this is not the

the proper place for explaining all these things. The book of father Joubert the jesuit, on the knowledge of medals, contains what is necessary to be known, when a profound knowledge of them is not required.

I content my self with informing young persons, who are desirous to study history in all its extent, that the knowledge of medals is absolutely necessary to that kind of learning. For history is not to be learnt in books only, which do not always tell the whole, or the truth, of things. Recourse must therefore be had to pieces, which support it; and which neither malice nor ignorance can injure or vary; and such are the monuments which we call medals. A thousand things equally important and curious are to be learnt from them, which are not to be found elsewhere. The pious and learned *Mr. Till-*
author of the memoirs upon the history of the *mont.*
emperours, gives us a proof and model of the use, which may be made of the knowledge of medals.

As much may be said of antique seals; and carved stones, which have this advantage of medals, that being of a harder substance, and representing the figures upon them in hollow, they preserve them perpetually in all their perfection; whereas medals are more subject to spoil, either by being rubbed, or by the corrosion of saline particles, to which they are always exposed. But to make amends, the latter, being all of them far more abundant than the former in their various species, they are of much greater use to the learned.

The royal academy of *inscriptions and polite learning*, established and renewed so successfully under the preceding reign, and which takes in all erudition antient and modern for its object,

will not a little contribute to preserve amongst us, not only a good taste for inscriptions and medals, which consists in a noble simplicity, but one in general for all works of wit, that are principally founded upon antient authors, whose writings this academy make their peculiar study. I dare not express here all that I think of a society, into which I am admitted, and of which I am a member. I was chose into it upon its being revived, without making any interest for so honourable a place, and indeed without knowing any thing of it; an introduction, in my opinion, highly worthy of learned Bodies. I could wish that I had merited it better, and had discharged the functions of a fellow of the academy with greater abilities.

S E C T. VII.

Of pearls.

THE pearl is an hard, white, clear substance, which forms itself in the inside of a certain kind of oysters.

The testaceous fish, in which the pearls are found, is three or four times as large as the common oyster. It is commonly called *pearl*, or *mother of pearl*.

Each mother of pearl generally produces ten or twelve pearls. An author, however, who has treated of their production, pretends to have seen to the number of an hundred and fifty in one of them; but in various degrees of perfection. The most perfect always appear the first, the rest remain under the oyster, at the bottom of the shell.

Pearl-

Pearl-fishing amongst the antients was followed principally in the Indian seas, as it still is, as well as in those of America, and some parts of Europe. The divers, under whose arms a cord is tied, of which the end is made fast to the bark, go down into the sea several times successively, and after having torn the oysters from the rocks, and filled a basket with them, they come up again with great agility.

This fishing is followed in a certain season of the year. The oysters are commonly put into the sand, where they corrupt by the extraordinary heat of the sun; and opening of themselves shew their pearls, which, after that, it is sufficient to clean and dry.

The other precious stones are quite rough, when taken from the rocks, where they grow, and derive their lustre only from the industry of man. Nature alone furnishes the substance which art must finish by cutting and polishing. But as to pearls, that clear and shining * water, for which they are so much esteemed, comes into the world with them. They are found completely polished in the abysses of the sea, and nature puts the last hand to them before they are torn from their shells.

The † perfection of pearls, according to Pliny, consists in their being of a glittering whiteness, large, round, smooth, and of a great weight, qualities seldom united in the subject.

* In the terms of jewellers, they call the shining colour of pearls, water; from their being supposed to be made of water. Hence the pearl-pendants of Cleopatra were said to be inestimable, both for their water and large size.

† Dos omnis in candore, magnitudine orbe, lavore, pondere; haud promptis rebus. Plin. l. 9. c. 35.

Plin. l. 9.
c. 35.

It is chimerical to imagine, that pearls take birth from dew drops ; that they are soft in the sea, and only harden when the air comes to them ; that they waste and come to nothing, when it thunders, as Pliny and several authors after him say.

Many things are highly prized only for being scarce, whose * principal merit consists in the danger people are at to get them. It is strange that men should set so small a value upon their lives, and should judge them of less worth than shells hidden in the sea. If it were necessary, for the acquiring of wisdom, to undergo all the pains taken to find some pearl of uncommon beauty and magnitude, (and as much may be said of gold, silver, and precious stones) we ought not to be a moment in resolving to venture life, and that often for such inestimable treasure. Wisdom is the greatest of all fortunes ; a pearl the most frivolous of riches ; men, however, do nothing for the former, and hazard every thing for the latter.

S E C T. VIII.

P U R P L E.

STUFFS dyed with purple were one of the most considerable branches of the commerce of the antients, especially of Tyre, which by industry and extreme skill had carried that precious dye to the highest possible degree of perfection. The purple disputed value with gold itself in those remote times, and was the distinguishing mark of the greatest dignities of

* Animâ hominis quæsitâ maxime placent. *Plin. ibid.*

the

the universe, being principally appropriated to * princes, kings, senators, consuls, dictators, emperors, and those to whom Rome granted the honour of a triumph.

The purple is a colour, compounded between red and violet, taken from a sea-fish covered with † a shell, called also *The purple*. Notwithstanding various treatises wrote by the moderns upon this colour so highly prized by the antients, we are little acquainted with the nature of the liquor, which produced it. Aristotle Arist. de Hist. Anim. l. 5. c. 15. and Pliny have left many remarkable things upon this point, but such as are more proper to excite, than fully to satisfy curiosity. The Plin. l. 9. c. 38. latter, who has spoken the most at large upon the preparation of purple, has confined all he says of it to some few lines. These might suffice for the description of a known practice in those times; but is too little to give a proper idea of it to ours, after the use of it has ceased for many ages.

Pliny divides the several species of shells, Plin. l. 9. c. 39. from which the purple dye is taken into two kinds; the first of which includes the small kind of *Buccinum*, so called from the resemblance between that fish's shell, and a hunting horn; and the second the shells called purple, from the dye they contain. It is believed that this latter kind were called also *Murex*.

Some authors affirm, that the Tyrians discovered the dye we speak of by accident. An Jul. Pol. lux. l. 1. c. 4. hungry dog having broke one of these shells Cassiod. l. 1. Var. Ep. 2.

* Color nimio lepore vernans, obscuritas rabens, nigredo sanguinea regnantem discernit, dominum conspicuum facit, & præstat humano generi ne de conspectu

Principis possit errari. *Cassiod. l. 1. Var. Ep. 2.*

† From thence purple habits are called in Latin, conchiliatæ vestes.

with

with his teeth upon the sea-side, and devoured one of these fish, all around his mouth and throat were dyed by it with so fine a colour, that it surprized every body that saw it, and gave birth to the desire of making use of it.

Plin. l. 9. The purple * of Getulia in Africa, and that
c. 36-39. of † Laconia in Europe, were in great estimation; but the Tyrian in Asia was preferred to all others; and that principally which was twice dipt, called for that reason *dibappa*. A pound of it was sold at Rome for a thousand denarii, that is, five hundred livres.

The *Buccinum* and *Murex* scarce differed in any thing but the bigness of shell, and the preparation of them. The *Murex* was fished for generally in the open sea; whereas the *Buccinum* was taken from the stones and rocks to which it adhered. I shall speak here only of
Memoirs of the Acad. of Scienc.
An. 1711. the *Buccinum*, and shall extract a small part of what I find upon it, in the learned dissertation of Monsieur Reaumur.

The liquor could not be extracted from the *Buccinum*, without employing a very considerable length of time for that purpose. It was first necessary to break the hard shell, that covered them. This shell being broke at some distance from its opening, or the head of the *Buccinum*, the broken pieces were taken away. A small vein then appeared, to use the expression of the antients; or with greater propriety of speech, a small reservoir, full of the proper liquor for dying purple. The colour of the

* Vestes Getulo murice tenctas. H O R.

Robes with Getulian purple dyed.

† Nec Laconicas mihi

Trahunt honestæ purpuras clientæ. H O R.

*Nor do my noble clients enquire with care
Laconia's purple spin for me to wear.*

liquor

liquor contained in this small reservoir, made it very distinguishable, and differs much from the flesh of the animal. Aristotle and Pliny say, it is white; and it is indeed inclining to white, or between white and yellow. The little reservoir, in which it is contained, is not of equal bigness in all the *Buccina*; it is, however, commonly about a line, the twelfth part of an inch, in breadth, and two or three in length.

———— It was this little reservoir the antients were obliged to take from the *Buccinum*, in order to separate the liquor contained in it. They were under the necessity of cutting it from each fish, which was a tedious work, at least with regard to what it held: for there is not above a large drop of liquor in each reservoir. From whence it is not surprizing that fine purple should be of so high a price amongst them.

Aristotle and Pliny say indeed, that they did not take the pains to cut these little vessels from the smaller fish of this kind separately, but only pounded them in mortars, which was a means to shorten the work considerably. Vitruvius Architect. seems even to give this as the general preparati- l. 7. c. 13. on. It is, however, not easy to conceive, how a fine purple colour could be attained by this means. The excrements of the animal must considerably change the purple colour, when heated together, after being put into the water. For that substance is itself of a brown, greenish colour, which, no doubt, it communicated to the water, and must very much have changed the purple colour; the quantity of it being exceedingly greater than that of the liquor.

In the preparation of purple, the cutting out the small reservoir of liquor from each *Buccinum*, was not the whole trouble. All those small vessels were afterwards thrown into a great quantity

quantity of water, which was set over a slow fire for the space of ten hours. As this mixture was left so long upon the fire, it was impossible for it not to take the purple colour : it took it much sooner, as I am well convinced, says Mr. Reaumur, by a great number of experiments. But it was necessary to separate the fleshy parts, or little vessels, wherein the liquor was contained ; which could not be done without losing much of the liquor, but by making those fleshy membranes dissolve in hot water, to the top of which they rose at length in scum, which was taken off with great care.

This was one manner in which the antients made the purple dye ; that was not entirely lost, as is believed, or at least, was discovered again about fifty years ago by the royal society of England. One species of the shells from which it is extracted, a kind of *Buccinum*, is common on the coast of that country. The observations of an Englishman upon this new discovery, were printed in the journals of France in 1686.

Another *Buccinum*, which gives also the purple dye, and is evidently one of those described by Pliny, is found upon the coast of Poitou. The greatest shells of this kind are from twelve to thirteen lines (of an inch) in length, and from seven to eight in diameter, in the thickest part of them. They are a single shell turned spirally, like that of a garden snail, but somewhat longer.

In the journal of the learned for 1686, the various changes of colour through which the *Buccinum's* liquor passes are described. If instead of taking out the vessel, which contains it, according to the method of the antients, in making their purple, that vessel be only opened,
and

and the liquor pressed out of it, the linnen or other stuffs either of silk or wool, that imbibe this liquor, will appear only of a yellowish colour. But the same linnen or stuffs, exposed to a moderate heat of the sun, such as it is in summer-mornings, in a few hours take very different colours. That yellow begins at first to incline a little to the green; thence it becomes of a lemon colour. To that succeeds a livelier green, which changes into a deep green; this terminates in a violet colour, and afterwards fixes in a very fine purple. Thus these linnens or stuffs, from their first yellow, proceed to a fine purple through all the various degrees of green. I pass over many very curious observations of Monsieur Reaumur's upon these changes, which do not immediately come into my subject.

It seems surprizing, that Aristotle and Pliny, in speaking of the purple dye, and the shells of several countries from which it is extracted, should not say a word of the changes of colour, so worthy of remark, through which the dye passes before it attains the purple. Perhaps not having sufficiently examined these shells themselves, and being acquainted with them only from accounts little exact, they make no mention of changes which did not happen in the ordinary preparation of purple; for, in that, the liquor being mingled in cauldrons with a great quantity of water, it turned immediately red.

Mr. Reaumur, in the voyage he made in the year 1710, upon the coast of Poitou, in considering the shells called *Buccinum*, which the sea in its ebb had left upon the shore; he found a new species of purple dye, which he did not search after; and which, according to all appearances, had never been known to the antients,
though

though of the same species with their own. He observed that the *Buccina* generally thronged about certain stones, and arched heaps of sand in such great quantities, that they might be taken up there by handfulls, though dispersed and single every where else. He perceived at the same time, that those stones or heaps of sand were covered with certain grains, of which the form resembled that of a small oblong bowl. The length of these grains was somewhat more than three lines, (a quarter of an inch) and their bigness something above one line. They seemed to him to contain a white liquor, inclining to yellow. He pressed out the juice of some of them upon his ruffle, which at first seemed only a little soiled with it; and he could perceive, with difficulty, only a small yellowish speck here and there in the spot. The different objects, which diverted his attention, made him forget what he had done, and he thought no farther of it, till casting his eyes by accident upon the same ruffle, about a quarter of an hour after, he was struck with an agreeable surprize, to see a fine purple colour on the places where the grains had been squeezed. This adventure occasioned many experiments, which give a wonderful pleasure in the relation, and shew what great advantage it is to a nation to produce men of a peculiar genius, born with a taste and natural disposition for making happy discoveries in the works of nature.

Mr. Reaumur remarks, that the liquor was extracted from these grains, which he calls *the eggs of purple*, in an infinitely more commodious manner, than that practised by the antients for the liquor of the *Buccinum*. For there was nothing more to do, after having gathered these eggs, than to have them well washed

washed in the sea-water, to take off as much as possible the filth, which might change the purple colour by mixing with it; there was, I say, nothing more to do than to put them into clean cloths. The liquor was then pressed out, by twisting the ends of these cloths different ways, in the same manner almost that the juice is prest out of gooseberries to make jelly. And to abridge this trouble still more, small presses might be used, which would immediately press out all the liquor. We have seen before, how much time and pains were necessary for extracting the liquor from the *Buccina*.

The *Coccus* or *Coccum* supplied the antients Plin. l. 22. with the fine colour and dye we call scarlet, c. 2. which, in some measure, disputed beauty and splendor with purple. Quintilian * joins them together; where he complains, that the parents of his times dressed their children, from their cradles in scarlet and purple, and inspired them, in that early age, with a taste for luxury and magnificence. Scarlet, according to † Pliny, supplied men with more splendid garments than purple, and at the same time more innocent, because it was not necessary to hazard life in attaining it.

Scarlet is generally believed the seed of a tree, of the holm-tree kind. It has been discovered to be a small round excreffence, red, and of the bigness of a pea, which grows

* Quid non adultus concupiscet, qui in purpuris repit? Nondum prima verba exprimit, & jam coccum intelligit, jam conchylium poscit. Quintil. l. 1. c. 1.

† Transalpina Gallia herbis Tyrium atque cenchyli-

um tingit, omnesque alios colores. Nec quærit in profundis murices—— ut inveniat per quod matrona adultero placeat, corruptor infidietur nuptæ. Stans & in sicco carpit, quo fruges modo. Plin.

upon the leaves of a little shrub, of the holm species, called *ilex aculeata cocciglandifera*. This excreffence is caused by the bite of an insect, which lays its eggs in it. The Arabians term this grain *Kermes*; the Latines, *Coccus* and *vermiculus*; from whence the words *vermilion*, and *Cusculum* or *quisquilium*, are derived. A great quantity of it is gathered in Provence and Languedoc. The water of the Gobelins's river is proper for dying scarlet.

There are two kinds of scarlet. The scarlet of France or of the Gobelins, which is made of the grain I have mentioned; and the scarlet of Holland, which derives itself from cochineal. This is a drug that comes from the East-Indies. Authors do not agree upon the nature of cochineal. Some believe it a kind of worm, and others, that it is only the seed of a tree.

The first kind is seldom used since the discovery of cochineal, which produces a much more beautiful and lively scarlet, than that of the *Kermes*, which is deeper, and comes nearer to the Roman purple. It has, however, one advantage of the cochineal-scarlet; which is, that it does not change colour when wet falls upon it, as the other does, that turns blackish immediately after.



S E C T. IX.

Of filken stuffs.

SILK, as Monsieur Mahudal observes in the dissertation * he has given us on this subject, of which I shall make great use in this place; silk, I say, is one of the things made use of for many ages almost throughout all Asia, in Africa, and many parts of Europe, without peoples knowing what it was; whether it was, that the people, amongst whom it grew, gave strangers little access to them; or that jealous of an advantage peculiar to themselves, they apprehended being deprived of it by foreigners. It was undoubtedly from the difficulty of being informed of the origin of this precious thread, so many singular opinions of the most antient authors took birth.

To judge of the description Herodotus Herod. l. 3. c. 106. makes of a kind of wool much subtler and more beautiful than the ordinary kind, and which, he says, was the growth of a tree in the Indies, (the most remote country known by the eastern people of his times to the eastward) that idea seems the first they had of silk. It was not extraordinary, that the people sent into that country to make discoveries, seeing only the bags of the silk worms hanging from the trees in a climate, where those insects breed, feed upon the leaves, and naturally ascend the branches, should take those bags for lumps of wool.

* *Memoirs of the academy of Inscriptions.* Vol. V.

OF COMMERCE.

It is likely, that Theophrastus, upon the relation of those mistaken persons, might conceive these a real species of trees, and rank them in a particular class, which he enumerates, of trees bearing wool. There is good reason to believe Virgil of the same opinion :

Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres.

Georg. l. 2. v. 121.

As India's fons

Comb the soft slender fleeces of the bough.

- Aristot. l. 5. hist. anim. c. 19. Aristotle, though the most antient of the naturalists, has given a description of an insect that comes nearest the silk-worm. It is where he speaks of the different species of the catterpillar, that he describes one, which comes from an horned worm, to which he does not give the name of *βόμυξ*, till it has shut itself up in a cod or bag, from whence, he says, it comes out a butterfly ; it passes through these several changes, according to him, in six months.
- Plin. l. 11. c. 22, 23. About four hundred years after Aristotle, Pliny, to whom that philosopher's history of animals was perfectly known, has repeated the same fact literally in his own. He places also, under the name *Bombyx*, not only this species of worm, which, as some report, produced the silk of Cos ; but several other catterpillars found in the same island, that he supposes to form there the cods or bags, from which, he says, the women of the country spin silk, and make stuffs of great fineness and beauty.
- Pausan. l. 6. p. 394. Pausanias, that wrote some years after Pliny, is the first who informs us, that this worm was of Indian extraction, and that the Greeks called

called it *seres*, from whence it derived the name of *Seres*, the inhabitants of the Indies, amongst whom, we are since convinced, this insect was first found.

The worm, which produces silk, is an insect still less wonderful, for the precious matter it supplies for the making of different stuffs, than for the various forms it takes, either before or after its having wrapt itself up in the rich bag, or cod; it spins for itself. From the grain or egg it is at first, it becomes a worm of considerable size, and of a white colour inclining to yellow. When it is grown large, it encloses itself within its bag, where it takes the form of a kind of grey bean, in which there seems neither life nor motion. It comes to life again to take the form of a butterfly, after having made itself an opening through its tomb of silk. At last, dying in reality, it prepares itself, by the egg or seed it leaves, a new life, which the fine weather and the heat of the summer are to assist it to resume. In the first volume of the *Spéctacle de la Nature*, may be seen a more extensive, and more exact description of these various changes.

It is from this bag or cod, into which the worm shuts itself, that the different kinds of silken manufactures are made, which serve not only for the luxury and magnificence of the rich, but the subsistence of the poor, who spin, wind, and work them. Each bag or cod is found to contain more than nine hundred feet of thread; and this thread is double, and glued together throughout its whole length, which in consequence amounts to almost two thousand feet. How wonderful it is, that out of a substance so slight and fine, as almost to escape the eye,

eye, stuffs should be composed of such strength and duration, as those made of silk ! But what lustre, beauty, and delicacy, are there in those stuffs ! It is not surprizing, that the commerce of the antients consisted considerably in them, and that, as they were very scarce in those times, their price ran exceeding high. Vopiscus * assures us, that the emperor Aurelian, for that reason, refused the empress his wife an habit of silk, which she earnestly solicited him to give her ; and that he said to her : *The gods forbid that I should purchase silk at the price of its weight in gold ; for the price of a pound of silk was at that time a pound of gold.*

Procop.
l. 2. de
bell. Van
dal.

It was not till very late, that the use of silk was known and became common in Europe. The historian Procopius dates the æra of it about the middle of the fifth century, under the emperor Justinian. He gives the honour of this discovery to two monks, who, soon after their arrival at Constantinople from the Indies, heard, in conversation, that Justinian was exceedingly solicitous about depriving the Persians, of their silk-trade with the Romans. They found means to be presented to him, and proposed a shorter way to deprive the Persians of that trade, than that of a commerce with the Ethiopians, which he had thoughts of setting on foot ; and this was, by teaching the Romans the art of making silks for themselves. The emperor, convinced by the account they gave him of the possibility of the means, sent them

* Vestem holofericam neque ipse in vestiario suo habuit, neque alteri utendum dedit. Et cum ab eo uxor sua peteret, ut unico pallio

blatteo Serico uteretur, ille respondit ; *Absit, ut auro fila pensentur.* Libra enim auri tunc libra Serici fuit. *Vopisc. in Aurel.*

back

back to Serinda (the city's name where they had resided) to get the eggs of the insects, which they told him could not be brought alive. Those monks, after their second voyage, returning to Constantinople, hatched the eggs, they had brought from Serinda, in warm dung. When the worms came out of them, they fed them with white mulberry leaves, and demonstrated by the success of that experiment all the mechanism of silk, in which the emperor had desired to be informed.

From that time the use of silk spread by degrees into several parts of Europe. Manufactures of it were set up at Athens, Thebes, and Corinth. It was not till about 1130, that Roger, king of Sicily, established one at Palermo. It was at that time, in this island and Calabria, workmen in silk were first seen, who were part of the booty that prince brought from the cities of Greece I have mentioned, which he conquered in his expedition to the holy land. In fine, the rest of Italy and Spain having learnt of the Sicilians and Calabrians to breed the worms, and to spin and work their silk, the stuffs made of it began to be manufactured in France, especially in the south parts of that kingdom, where mulberry trees were raised with most ease. Lewis XI, in 1470, established silk manufactures at Tours. The first workmen employed in them were brought from Genoa, Venice, Florence, and even from Greece. Works of silk were, however, so scarce even at court, that Henry II. was the first prince that wore silk stockings, which he did at the nuptials of his sister.

They are now become very common, but do not cease to be one of the most astonishing wonders of nature. Have the most skillful artificers

tificers been able hitherto to imitate the curious work of the silk-worm? Have they found the secret to form so fine, so strong, so even, so shining, and so extended a thread? Have they a more valuable substance for the fabrick of the richest stuffs? Do they know in what manner this worm converts the juice of a leaf into threads of gold? Can they give a reason why a matter, liquid before the air comes to it, should condense and extend to infinitude afterwards? Can we explain how this worm comes to have sense to form itself a retreat for the winter, within the innumerable folds of the silk, of which itself is the principal; and to expect, in that rich tomb, a kind of resurrection, which supplies it with the wings its first birth had not given it? These are the reflections made by the author of the new commentary upon Job, upon account of these words: *Quis * posuit in ventribus sapientiam? Who hath given wisdom to certain animals, that have the industry to spin?*

CONCLUSION.

FROM what has been said hitherto, we may conclude commerce one of the parts of government, capable of contributing the most to the riches and plenty of a state; and therefore that it merits the particular attention of princes and their ministers. It does not appear indeed, that the Romans set any value upon it. Dazzled with the glory of arms, they would have believed it a disgrace to them, to

* This Mr. Rollin says in the margin, is the sense, according to the Hebrew, of the 36th verse of the 38th chap-

ter of Job: Which in the English version is only, Who hath put wisdom in the inward parts.

have applied their cares to the interest of trade, and in some measure to have become merchants; they, who believed themselves intended by fate to govern mankind, and were solely intent upon the conquest of the universe. Neither does it seem possible, that the spirit of conquest, and the spirit of commerce, should not mutually exclude each other in the same nation. The one necessarily introduces tumult, disorder, and desolation, and carries trouble and confusion along with it into all places: the other, on the contrary, breaths nothing but peace and tranquillity. I shall not examine in this place, whether the aversion of the Romans for commerce were founded in reason; or if a people, solely devoted to war, are thereby the happier. I only say, that a king who truly loves his subjects, and endeavours to plant abundance in his dominions, will spare no pains to make traffick flourish and succeed in them without difficulty. It has been often said, and it is a maxim generally received, that commerce demands only liberty and protection: liberty within wise restrictions, in not tying down such as exercise it to the observance of inconvenient, burthensome, and frequently useless regulations; protection, in granting them all the supports they have occasion for. We have seen the vast expences Ptolomy Philadelphus was at, in making commerce flourish in Egypt; and how much glory the success of his measures acquired him. An intelligent, and well-inclined prince, will intermeddle only in commerce, to banish fraud and bad arts from it by severity, and will leave all the profits to his subjects, who have the trouble of it; well convinced, that he shall find sufficient advantages from it, by the great riches it will bring into his dominions.

I am sensible that commerce has its inconveniencies and dangers. Gold, silver, diamonds, pearls, rich stuffs, in which it consists in a great measure, contribute to support an infinity of pernicious arts, which tend only to enervate and corrupt a people's manners. It were to be desired, that the commerce might be removed from a christian nation, which regards only such things as promote luxury, vanity, effeminacy, and idle expences. But this is impossible. As long as bad desires shall have dominion over mankind, all things, even the best, will be abused by them. The abuse merits condemnation, but is no reason for abolishing uses, which are not bad in their own nature. This maxim will have its weight, with regard to all the sciences I shall treat of in the sequel of this work.

End of the Tenth Volume.



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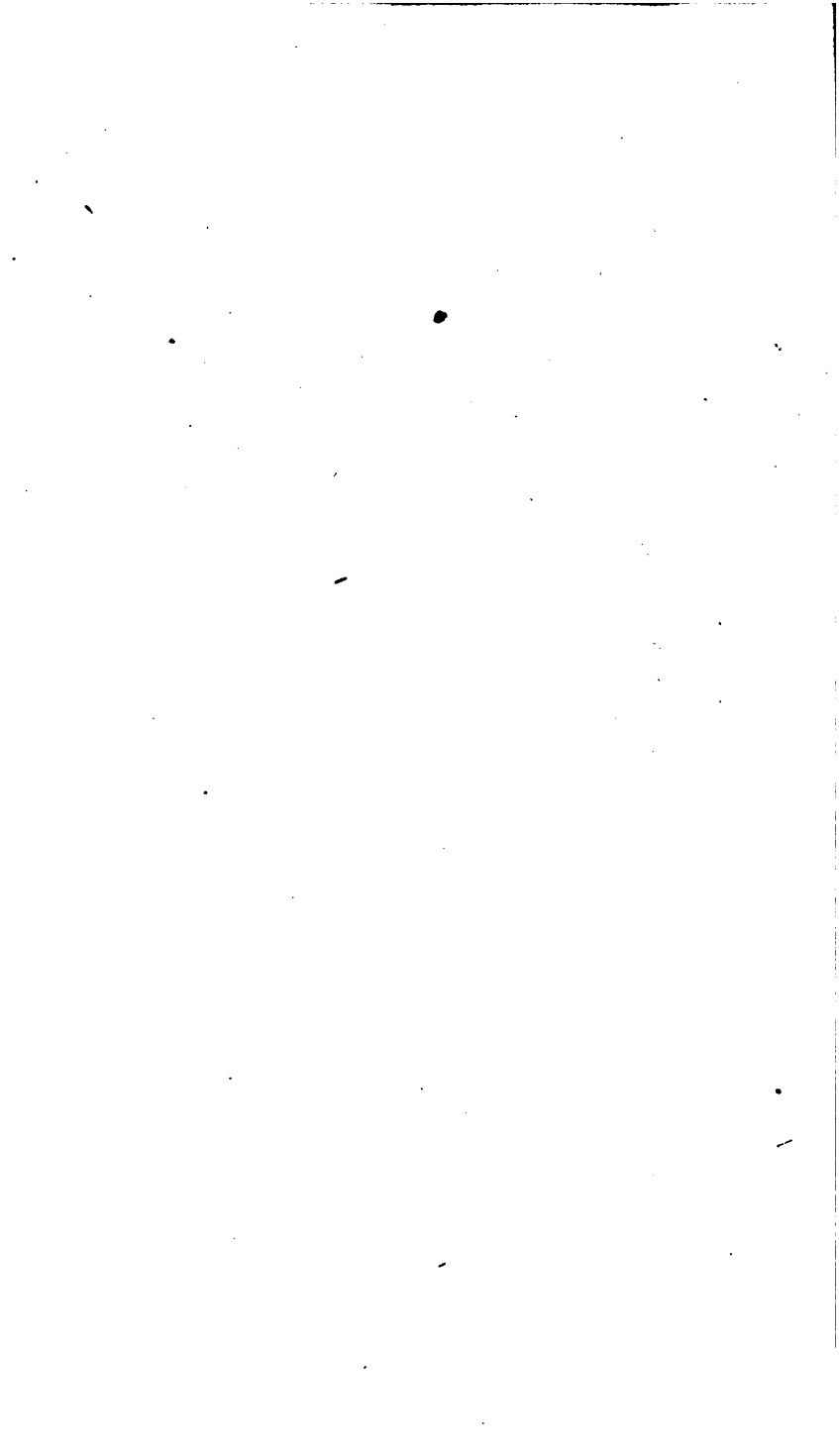
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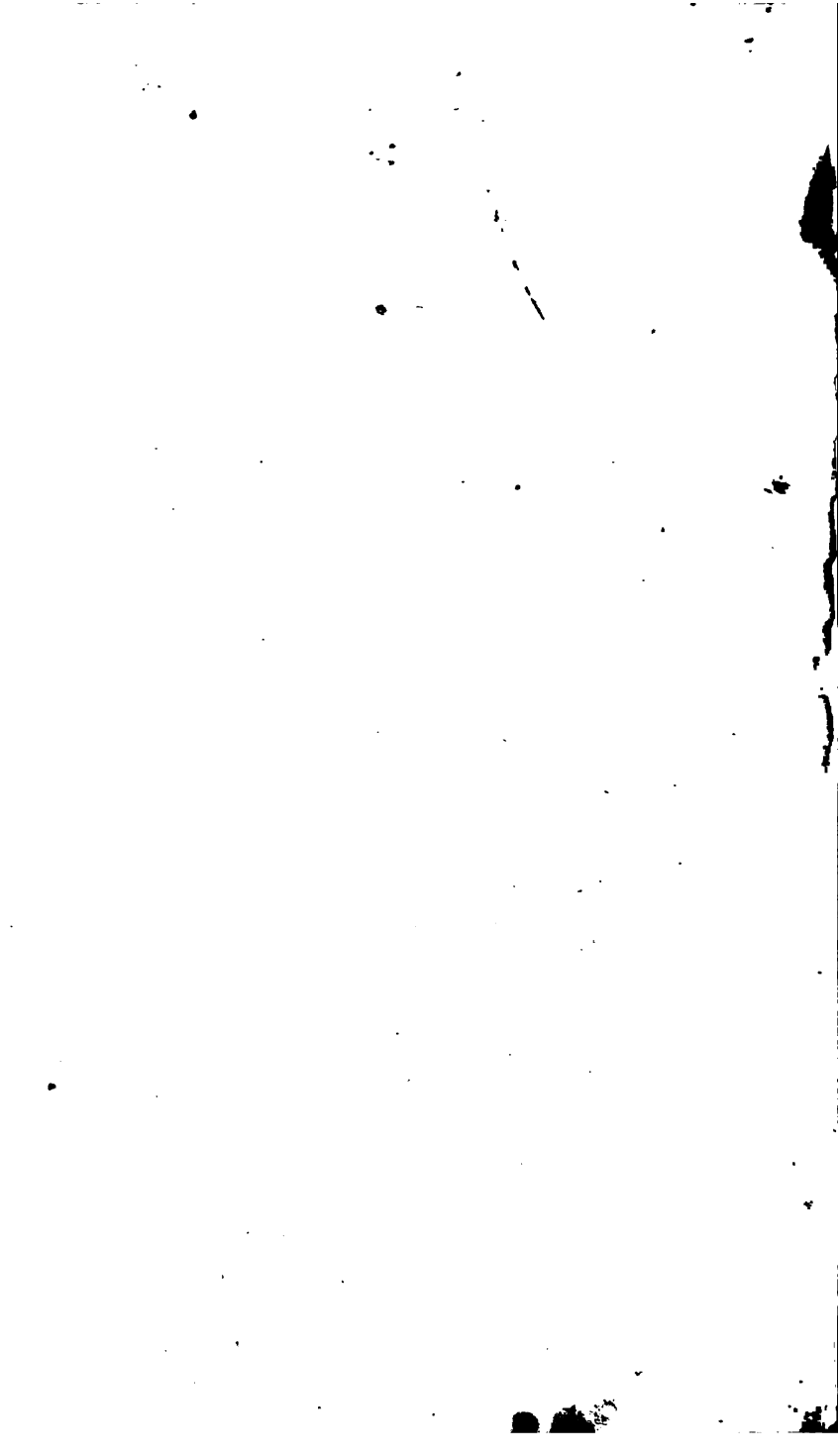
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